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MOSSOM BOYD: LUMBER KING OF THE TRENT VALLEY

By D. J. Wurtele

Mossom Boyd, the founder of a lumbering business that eventually extended from Seven Islands to the Nitinat Valley, was born in India in 1815. His father was Captain Gardiner Boyd, a North of Ireland officer of the Bengal Army, who died in 1829. Boyd came to Canada in 1834, settling at Bobcaygeon on Sturgeon Lake, where he was to be one of the few original settlers to remain. The year before, John Langton had arrived in the same locality where he was joined by his older sister Anne and other members of the Langton family a few years later.

Although the Boyd Papers in the Public Archives of Canada shed much light on the subsequent activities of Mossom Boyd and, in particular, those of his son, Mossom Martin Boyd, it is to Anne Langton's journals that we must look first for information on the character and early career of this remarkable man. "He is," she writes, in January, 1839, "a most resolute home-stayer and a very industrious settler, and has chopped all his own land himself."[1] Three years later she comments that he is "an example to all our young men for industry, attention to business, and study of economy."[2] Thus in a few words Anne Langton summarizes the precise qualities that were to animate the Boyds, father and son, to the end of their days.

In 1841 she intimates that Boyd was possibly seeking the hand of Caroline Dunsford, a member of the extensive Dunsford family that had settled nearby a few years after Boyd's arrival. The marriage did take place, in February, 1844, to be followed a year later by the marriage of John Langton to Caroline's sister Lydia.[3] These family connections were to have some importance in Mossom Boyd's future career, and in the Boyd Papers the correspondence with the Langton and Dunsford families extends from 1849 to 1916.

John Langton became partners with Boyd in the lumber trade in 1849. Owing to ill-health he soon withdrew, and, in 1851, his health restored, he entered parliament.[4] The business consisted of cutting squared white pine and rafting it to Quebec, this being at a time when exports to Great Britain were growing concurrently with U.S. demands, with the result that the price on the Quebec market was kept up.[5] It is clear that John Langton soon became impressed with Boyd's immense energy and ambition. In May 1849, he writes:

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1. H. H. Langton, ed., *A Gentlewoman in Upper Canada: The Journals of Anne Langton* (Toronto, 1950), 97.
2. *Ibid.*, 194.
3. *Ibid.*, 223 ff.
4. *Ibid.* 240 f.
5. A. R. M. Lower, *The North American Assault on the Canadian Forest.* (Toronto, 1938), 107 f.

> My two companions in this business are as opposite as light and darkness. Boyd is an Irishman whose blood got an extra boiling by being born in India, and all the Flemish blood of the Dunsfords has been concentrated in Jem. You might as well yoke a wild horse with an exceedingly sedate ox as get these two to pull together. . . . Boyd is admirably adapted in many respects for the work he is at. When a raft is once started almost everything must yield to dispatch, and a restless being who can keep himself and everything that comes in contact with him in a state of excitement for two or three months at a time is just the man to drive a river.[6]

After describing the difficulties of log driving and the uncertainties over what the spars might bring when they arrive at Quebec, Langton explained that most of the hands could be paid off when Peterborough was reached, with a consequent reduction in expenses. He then added this revealing comment:

> It is well it is so, for Boyd is unable to contribute anything in the way of cash. Any expenses below the mouth of the Trent James Dunsford has taken upon himself . . . from Buckthorn downward Boyd is to be allowed $14 a month, the rate of an ordinary good hand, and he is the best we have. He will go on to Quebec.[7]

Langton's correspondence with Boyd shows the extent to which the ambitious young Irish lumberman was helped by the future Auditor-General,[8] although the cautious, yet rather casual, tone of the following letters suggests that Langton was not endowed with the gambling instinct and boundless vision that were to make Boyd's fortune.

> You proposed when going down with the raft that you should be allowed 14$ a month. In making out the account I put you down £10 which is somewhat more than you asked, but if you are not content with it make some addition . . . If you think you will want any money before we discount let me know as I have very little left at Nicholls's, but I could raise some yet and perhaps shall have to do so yet.[9]

The straitened circumstances of the partnership persisted. On September 17, 1851, Langton says

> I write principally to warn you for your future guidance that our £500 is running very low. The bill which Wickham endorsed is due and also an overdue note of yours to Malcolm has been presented to Nicholls and both are now paid, leaving only about £60 of the £200 I paid to your account . . .[10]

He goes on to discuss the financial situation in detail, again carefully stressing that it is all meant for Boyd's "future financial guidance." But Boyd's reply, penned on the back of Langton's last page, characteristically ignores Langton's pessimistic details and enlarges on his need for a good shanty man; his concluding paragraph strikes a typical note of contrast:

> I have since I returned purchased more timber & as there were several parties in quest of it I thought it wise to secure all I could get, but these purchases

6. W. A. Langton, ed., *Early Days in Upper Canada: Letters of John Langton* (Toronto, 1926), 203 ff.
7. *Ibid.*, 209.
8. Langton was offered this office in 1855. (H. H. Langton, *op. cit.*, 242).
9. P.A.C., Boyd Papers, Vol. 231, Langton to Boyd, n.d. [1849?].
10. Boyd Papers, *ibid.*

have reduced my funds rather low so that I must again apply to you for a further sum of from two to four hundred pounds as may be convenient to you.[11]

Early in his career Boyd had bought Need's Bobcaygeon saw mills and property,[12] and in 1858 his mill was said to be cutting 20,000 feet per day with the aid of a "yankee gang" of some 30 saws and other equipment.[13]

When Boyd's sixteen year old son, Mossom Martin, joined him in the business in 1871 operations grew rapidly. If the intrepid driving force of Mossom Boyd Sr. laid the foundations of the business, it was the versatile genius of Mossom Martin Boyd that developed it into the far flung enterprise that was soon to extend from coast to coast. It is around this date, too, that Boyd's extensive dealings with the Crown Lands Department, the Crown Timber Office, and the Canada Land and Emigration Company made their appearance in the Boyd Papers. The correspondence with these agencies, as well as a wide variety of agreements, land grants and licenses, drive reports, cullers' affidavits, clearance returns, and so on, not only illustrate the logging methods of the mid-nineteenth century in the Trent Valley, but also provide incidental background of the local history of such areas as Haliburton County. Needless to say, the Boyds were indefatigable purchasers of timber limits, an activity which, as we shall later see, was to earn them rich rewards.

It was, moreover, in the seventies that the Boyds, like so many of their fellow lumbermen, began to turn away from the old square timber trade with the British market in favour of sawn lumber production for the American market.[14] Early in that decade we find the Boyds carrying on a lively trade with Oswego and Troy, with a branch house, Boyd & Co., being opened at Albany around 1875. In this era of metropolitan growth the demands of the construction industry for white pine were insatiable, and Mossom Martin Boyd's note books tell the story of burgeoning production. Operating chiefly in Havelock, where cutting on their patented lands was for a time somewhat more extensive than on their licensed lands, they took out the following quantities of saw logs in the late seventies:

Season of	1877-8	4,300,000 ft.	approx.
" "	1878-9	14,800,000 "	"
" "	1879-80	6,400,000 "	"

When the 1881-2 season was over, the cut had risen again to nearly 12 million feet, plus some 37,000 feet of squared timber. In 1883-4 nearly 16 million feet of saw logs were taken out, mostly from C.L. & E. patented lands, with no mention of any squared timber. In 1883, however, a raft

11. Boyd Papers, *ibid.*
12. W. A. Langton, *op. cit.*, 152 (footnote).
13. From "List of Saw Mills in Peterborough and Victoria Counties," cited by E. C. Guillett, *The Valley of the Trent* (Toronto, 1957), 276.
14. Cf. Lower, *op. cit.*, 99.

left for Quebec containing 6,800 feet of squared pine, and the Quebec trade was, as we shall see, to linger on for several more years.

The year 1883[15] saw the death of old Mossom Boyd. As of January 1, 1884, a partnership was formed between Mossom Martin Boyd, his younger brother William, and their cousin and brother-in-law, John Macdonald, the last named assuming management of the Albany wholesale operations.[16]

In the eighties the Boyd lumbering business at Bobcaygeon enjoyed its heyday. Over six million feet were shipped by rail and canal to Albany in 1885, the year in which Boyd's trade with Great Britain seems finally to have ended. Between 1881 and 1885 he had shipped substantial quantities of squared white pine to Geo. Gillespie & Company of Glasgow, but these shipments were made on consignment, so that payments arrived slowly. By way of contrast, we may note that one of his U.S. customers, Dannat & Pell of Brooklyn, bought $18,000 worth of lumber in 1887, paying on a monthly basis. This again illustrates the fact, that while export sales to the U.S. might suffer from business fluctuations, they did not tie up cash in the long term credit demanded by sales to Great Britain.[17] This was important to the Boyds, for now their working capital had not only to meet the needs of expanding shanty and sawmill operations, but was also being drawn into investments in timber limits.

In this era operations in the shanties on the Glamorgan, Snowdon and Monmouth limits proceeded at a rapid pace, as Boyd's notebooks testify.

Season of	1885-6	7,500,000 feet	approx.
" "	1886-7	7,100,000 "	"
" "	1887-8	22,500,000 "	"
" "	1888-9	23,000,000 "	"

By this time nearly all the logging was being conducted on licensed limits, with very little white pine being taken from patented limits. From then on, however, production dropped off considerably.[18] This was the combined result of his limits being reduced by depletion and disposal, and the lumber depression that began in 1891, continued for several years and became aggravated by the Dingley Tariff of 1897.[19] It is interesting to note that in spite of the reduction in the quantity of lumber being taken from the limits in the nineties, Boyd had in his lumber yard at Bobcaygeon in January, 1896, no less than 14 million feet of merchantable white pine.

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15. This was also the year when the Erie Canal was made free of tolls. Cf. Lower, *op. cit.*, 179.
16. An older brother, Gardiner Boyd, was in the real estate business in Toronto.
17. Cf. Lower, *op. cit.*, x.
18. Thus while 167 men were listed on the Bobcaygeon pay sheet in 1888, the number had fallen to 77 in 1898, and in 1908 to 15.
19. Lower, *op. cit.*, 156 f.

Between 1892 and 1902 annual production averaged about 2½ million feet, being taken almost entirely from Glamorgan. Moreover, when the 1902-3 season was over almost half the cut consisted of hemlock logs. Throughout all these years Boyd insisted on the keeping of meticulous records. The result is that the account books, shanty diaries and letters of the foremen in the woods provide both an on-the-spot picture of Boyd's operations and a record of the varying scales of pay rates.[20]

In 1892 Boyd's cousin and brother-in-law, John Macdonald, died, an event that resulted in the Boyd operations being placed on an extremely sound financial footing regardless of the lumber depression. There is no doubt that Macdonald's skill in handling the Albany market had much to do with the rapid expansion of the operations on the Boyd limits. For some fifteen years he maintained a steady correspondence with Boyd, which, added to a voluminous correspondence with the salesmen employed in the New York area, testify to the influence exerted by the partnership on the Albany market. But with the death of this partner their Albany operation ceased, and it became necessary to sell many of the assets. In November 1893, Oliver, Coates & Co. of Toronto auctioned off a large part of the timber berths held in Ontario. The Toronto *Empire* reported on November 24, 1893 that the sale in the aggregate realized nearly $1 million, consisting chiefly of limits in Sherbourne and Glamorgan townships and in the vicinity of the north shore of Lake Huron, the French River and Lake Nipissing. The Toronto *Mail* commented that the 67 square miles of timber limits near Lake Nipissing, acquired in 1886 for $86,000, had alone fetched $450,000, while the Bobcaygeon *Independent* in its issue of November 25, 1893 declared without exaggeration that the Nipissing limit had been "one of Mr. M. M. Boyd's most fortunate speculations," adding that "the saw mill in this village, with limits that will provide sufficient shingle stuff and other timber, to run it for several years yet, is retained by the firm."[21]

Certainly the Boyds had not by any means exhausted all their holdings. In the course of time they had acquired mortgages on a considerable amount of metropolitan real estate in Brooklyn and Toronto, with property fronting on King St., Dundas St., Jarvis St., and elsewhere. By this date their interests had grown to an extent surely undreamed of by the elder Mossom Boyd when he was engaged in chopping his own wood around Bobcaygeon some sixty years earlier. One of his son's most profitable acquisitions consisted of a tract of 620 square miles of timber limits in Quebec, situated on the North Shore some 350 miles below Quebec City.

20. Around Fenelon Falls in the seventies, for example, Boyd was paying an average of $1.50 a day. Thirty years later the average was little changed.

21. Not long after the death of old Mossom Boyd, his son enjoyed a foretaste of this good fortune. On May 26, 1884, the Associated Press reported from Ottawa that the Boyd Company had sold a large timber limit on the north shore of Lake Nipissing to J. R. Booth for some $200,000, adding that "the firm are said to have cleared a snug little fortune" on the property, bought at the Government sale a few years before.

Extensive timber cruises were undertaken, on occasion by M. M. Boyd or his sons, though usually by one Nelson Vannier, an expert woods ranger who, following his employer's example, left behind detailed memo books of his activities. Although it was Boyd's original intention to cut lumber and deals on these Quebec limits, he later decided they were better suited for pulp and paper making; the Rivière aux Rochers, running through his limits, was supposed to have a total potential of 40,000 h.p. Before the Quebec limits could be disposed of, however, negotiations went on for many years. In 1907 the International Paper Company was quoted a price of $500,000, and in 1910, in dealings with New York lawyers representing the Hearst group, Boyd raised his asking price to $600,000 and warned that his figure might go as high as $1 million. In 1927 the limits were still unsold, though the Howard Smith interests were at that time actively negotiating.

In the North-West Territories Boyd's interests embraced a sizeable ranch at Prince Albert, in addition to some 8,000 acres of limits in Saskatchewan, some of which were on Indian lands. The total asking price in 1914 for this property was about $200,000. It is interesting to note that in this year, when M. M. Boyd died, his long-time legal adviser and cousin, Henry Wickham, stated that the ranch at Prince Albert was then the chief, if not the only, asset producing a revenue.

This indicates that the lumbering operations on the Pacific Coast were of short duration. While they lasted, however, they were extensive. It will be noted, too, that as was the case with the properties in Quebec and the Northwest Territories, Boyd undertook this expansion only after the demise of his father and after the cessation of the old square timber export trade with Great Britain.

In British Columbia as elsewhere Boyd put the ubiquitous timber cruiser, Nelson Vannier, to work, his notebooks indicating that he was another of those "high priests of the craft," capable of "taking in at a glance the commercial possibilities of any given stand."[22] Boyd's properties in B.C. grew to include some 20,000 acres of limits around Cowichan Lake and in the Nitinat Valley, as well as on Gambier Island in Howe Sound, on the Fraser River near Port Haney, and at Port Moody Harbour. At Genoa, on Vancouver Island, a sawmill was operated, where a sizeable quantity of lumber was cut, chiefly Douglas fir. In 1900 nearly 8½ million feet were taken out, while in 1913 the same quantity, mainly from the the Canadian Northern right of way, was cut. A cruise of only a part of the limits in 1912 disclosed stands of over 100 million feet, divided mainly among fir, cedar and hemlock.

The Nitinat River limits had been acquired in 1893, and the mill, with additional limits, in 1895; then in 1897 a charter was taken out under the name of Cowichan Lumber Company Limited with M. M. Boyd as

22. Lower, *op. cit.*, 29.

president. Since this action came closely after the sale of most of the Ontario limits following the dissolution of the old partnership and the formation of a new one between M. M. Boyd and his brother William, it seems evident that Boyd had his eye on the greater potential offered by West Coast lumbering.[23] This plan was perhaps indicative of a trend. On October 23, 1895, the Victoria *Times* commented: "The action of the Boyd Company in securing a large mill and timber limits on Vancouver Island is looked upon by lumbermen as the first move of a number of eastern mill men to locate in the West."

Around the same time William Gidley, a former shanty foreman now transferred to Cowichan Lake to manage the British Columbia operation, informed the *Colonist* that decreasing timber limits in the East made it imperative to seek new fields. Boyd himself, in a letter of July 1899 to Ellen Langton, his cousin, expressed the belief that the coast province would be the best place for his four sons to make their fortunes. He added, however, that while there were many good chances in British Columbia, there was also "lots of competition and sharks and alligators in human form looking to devour the innocent".[24] Boyd himself could hardly be classed among the innocent, when we consider that in 1920 his estate was able to place an asking price of over $3 million for all its British Columbia limits.

The management of such far flung interests, coupled with the extensive amount of travelling he was called upon to do, might seem to imply that Boyd's other interests were necessarily somewhat circumscribed. Nothing could be farther from the truth. As the years wear on, the records show evidence of increasing attention devoted to those amenities of life for which old Mossom Boyd had had neither time nor opportunity. We find correspondence with rare book dealers, purveyors of musical instruments, picture dealers and with the McGill travelling library. We find him enjoying a lively and intellectual correspondence over several decades with Professor the Reverend Herbert Symonds, who had married Boyd's sister Emma and after a period as head of Trinity College School became vicar of Christ Church Cathedral in Montreal. Though he himself had joined his father in the lumbering business at the age of sixteen, Boyd also made sure his four sons received the best education obtainable. Beginning with a tutor imported from England, they were educated at Trinity, Upper Canada College, Shrewsbury School in England, and finally at Oxford, and Boyd's daughters were no less fortunate.

In the realm of community and public affairs the energies which Boyd inherited from his father found ample scope. As might be expected, the Trent Canal, that long lived "political football" and excuse "for providing

23. Operating costs, of course, were higher. In a log drive in 1900, for instance, when some 150 men were employed, the pay rates ran between $2.50 and $4.00 a day. The ten Chinese cooks received $1.00 each.

24. P.A.C., Boyd Papers, vol. 231.

pre-election sops to the constituencies along it,"[25] held much practical importance for the Boyds, father and son. Correspondence in the Boyd Papers on the canal and attendant matters extends from 1850 to 1914. Prominent in the correspondence is the report of a Commission hearing on the progress of the canal held in January, 1890, at which M. M. Boyd's testimony ran to 27 pages of transcript. Possibly it was this activity that embroiled him in the political struggles of that turbulent period, although his renowned flair for business and his wide reputation would surely have been enough in itself to turn the eyes of the party on him.

In his case the party was the Liberal-Conservative Party though Boyd's family connections also gave him certain ties with the Liberals. John A. Barron, a trustee of the Mossom Boyd estate who handled much of M. M. Boyd's legal work and was related to Boyd through his wife Elizabeth Dunsford, served as the Liberal Member of Parliament for Victoria North from 1887 to 1892. Barron was also one of the five Liberals of the "Noble Thirteen" who voted in 1889 that the federal government act to disallow Mercier's Jesuits' Estates Bill. Indeed, Barron himself touched off the battle in the House of Commons on February 13, 1889 by rising from his place to ask five questions regarding the consideration which the Act had received from the Government and took a prominent part in the debate that followed.[26] Barron was re-elected in 1891, but the year following was unseated on petition and never sat again. The victor in the special byelection of February 11, 1892 was Colonel Sam Hughes.[27] Another prominent Liberal connected with M. M. Boyd was Thomas Langton, the son of old Mossom's onetime partner. A lawyer and senior partner in Sir Oliver Mowat's law firm, Langton had married one of Mowat's daughters.

But though he felt the pull of family and friendship on the Liberal side, Boyd's own politics were Conservative. He had joined the Conservative party and as early as the age of 31 was attending the conventions. In 1890 on the death of the sitting member for Victoria South, Adam Hudspeth, the party turned to Boyd as its candidate. Hearing that Boyd was to be asked to run, Barron, the Liberal M.P., wrote him from Ottawa:

> This note is strictly private and confidential. If it is your wish to take up this sort of life, though I would dissuade you from anything so dreadful, I want to say to you that, if you accept, I shall endeavor, and I think with success, to have you go in unopposed, in other words, I don't think that you would have an election at all, and I should do all in my power to prevent your being put to the cost and annoyance of running.[28]

Boyd promptly replied that "no consideration whatever" would induce him to accept the offer even under "the very exceptional circumstances"

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25. Lower, *op. cit.*, 95.
26. J. P. Heisler, *Sir John Thompson, 1844-1894*. Unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Toronto, 1955, 175 ff.
27. When the Liberals returned to power, Barron received a county judgeship.
28. P.A.C., Boyd Papers, Vol. 191, Barron to Boyd, May 16, 1890.

Barron suggested.[29] However, if it was easy to convince his prospective, and very reluctant, political rival, it was not so easy to discourage his own friends who while Boyd was out in British Columbia positively assured the South Victoria convention that he would accept the nomination. The first Boyd heard of this action was on reaching Chicago, where a wire from his brother William awaited him, and at once he wired back a refusal. On October 22nd he reached Toronto, to find there two telegrams from Sir John A. Macdonald, the latest one reading: "Please come to see me here. I urge this strongly on public grounds."[30] Boyd answered Macdonald in the same strain as he wrote the Association—he was greatly surprised at what had been done, since he had already declared such an undertaking would be "suicidal" in view of his health.[31]

Whether or not Macdonald had learned of Barron's private assurances to Boyd that he would be spared a contest, it seems that this arrangement may no longer have held good in any case. On the 21st Barron wrote from Toronto in something of a panic, not knowing of Boyd's emphatic rejection:

> I am most anxious to see you before you decide, so is Geo. McHugh, so is Jabez Thurston and other personal friends. It is not that we would not want to see you our member, that is not it; but by your having hitherto so firmly declined, many are now placed in an awkward predicament from which you can still extricate us, even tho' you wish to run.[32]

Barron added that Boyd must meet him on the train, since if they were seen together at Toronto the party "would put an improper construction upon my doing so."[33]

The next day—October 22nd—Sam Hughes wrote, also from Toronto: "I was especially desirous of seeing you today We did our best in nominating you. The grits, with all their lies and blowing, would never dare face you in the field."[34] Hughes brushed aside Boyd's objections on the grounds of health and urged him to accept, promising, "We can elect you flying, without your doing a week's work."[35]

On October 31, Macdonald wrote in much the same vein, although with more urbanity:

> I greatly regret your inability to accept the nomination for South Victoria, and especially for the cause. I had hoped that notwithstanding that your health was not so strong as your friends would wish, the fact that there would really be no lengthened contest taxing your strength might induce you to come to the rescue.[36]

As mentioned before, one reason for Boyd's friends' insistence that he run was his connection with the Trent Canal. At this time John Car-

29. *Ibid.,* Boyd to Barron, May 19, 1890.
30. *Ibid.,* Macdonald to Boyd, October 22, 1890, from Ottawa.
31. *Ibid.,* Boyd to Macdonald, October 22, 1890.
32. *Ibid.,* Barron to Boyd, October 21, 1890.
33. *Loc. cit.*
34. *Ibid.,* Hughes to Boyd, October 22, 1890.
35. *Loc. cit.*
36. *Ibid.,* Macdonald to Boyd, October 31, 1890.

negie of Peterborough wrote to inform him that the Commissioners were leaving Toronto soon to inspect the Erie Canal and to ask Boyd for suggestions as to what and whom they should see, adding:

> I hope the report that you have declined the South Victoria nomination is not true, in the interests of the Canal. No man can do as much as you can at the present moment to forward this undertaking. We badly want someone at Ottawa next session who thoroughly understands the matter as you do.[37]

But Boyd remained firm. The bye-election was contested, and won, by another old friend, Charles Fairbairn, a farmer of Verulam. Then in the general election of the next year Macdonald again sought his help, but this time only to use his "great influence" on behalf of Fairbairn. Fairbairn did win his election, though, like Barron's, it was declared void. He was more fortunate than Barron, however, for at the same time that Barron lost his seat to Hughes, Fairbairn was re-seated.[38]

Boyd's supporters still did not give up. In February, 1895, the association again approached him. Once more he was out on the coast. This time they wired him at Tacoma, asking him to take the nomination. He replied that it was impossible for him to accept, but this apparently was not convincing enough. A week later Sir Mackenzie Bowell wired back: "Convention South Victoria meets Saturday. Cannot too strongly urge you to accept nomination. Highly important. Only means of saving riding. Don't say no."[39]

But Boyd did say "no", and the riding was not saved. Though he was later asked to "take off your coat for our good friend Dr. Vrooman"[40] (who happened to be one of the veterinarians who attended Boyd's cattle) the seat was lost to the Liberal candidate, George McHugh, by a very narrow margin. McHugh, another old associate of Boyd, had in his occupation as auctioneer sold one of Boyd's steamboats. Soon after his election he wrote Boyd urging his support in pushing through the Trent Canal.

Several things stand out in this flurry of correspondence. One is the unquestionably sound judgment of the Conservatives in trying so hard to make Boyd run.[41] The other is his evident aversion to neglecting his own multifarious activities. Moreover, such Liberals as Barron and McHugh were his friends no less than Conservatives like Fairbairn or Hughes, a fact to which the latter seems to have been, then as later, oblivious.

At any rate, Boyd's complete failure to respond to the excitement evoked by his candidacy—or rather his declining of it—is revealed by

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37. *Ibid.*, John Carnegie to Boyd, October 29, 1890.
38. N. O. Coté, *Political Appointments . . .* , Ottawa, 1896, 288.
39. P.A.C., Boyd Papers, Vol. 191, Bowell to Boyd, March 7, 1895.
40. *Ibid.*, John Taggart to Boyd, May 29, 1896.
41. Partly because of Boyd's desirable abilities, partly because of the need for a popular candidate in such a notoriously close riding as South Victoria. The average margin of victory in the seven elections, general and special, held between 1882 and 1896 inclusive, was less than 90 votes. Cf. *Canadian Parliamentary Guide,* 1936 edition.

his diaries. On August 25, 1890, while en route to the Northwest Territories and the Pacific Coast aboard the steamer "Alberta", he records that he "met McKenzie [sic] Bowell at Fort William Station;" but if they discussed the political situation he has nothing to say about it. Then on October 25 of the same year, on arriving back at Bobcaygeon, he records the fact that the circular and big gang saws were running, that the colts and horses were grazing, that a farm hand was hauling manure; but never a word about the political turmoil then brewing. Not until November 1 does he so much as mention it, and then only to record that he "went up to Lindsay and back on 'Esturion' to attend the Conservative convention and explain why I declined the nomination," adding laconically: "Fairbairn received the nomination. I played cards all the way home."[42]

When we examine the additional activities in which Boyd was engaged the wonder is not that he had no time to be overly interested in politics, but rather that he found time to do all he did. In 1882 he had acquired the Big Island Stock Farm.[43] This was located at the northern extreme of Pigeon Lake, where on a 1200-acre farm Boyd imported and bred various kinds of prize cattle, such as Polled Angus and Herefords, as well as Oxford Down and Persian sheep, Percheron and Clydesdale horses. As early as 1885 he exhibited his Polled Angus in England, where he affirmed, they carried off nearly all the important prizes. Early in the nineties he formed the idea, on a trip to California, of bringing buffalo bulls to Bobcaygeon, with the intention of cross breeding them with Polled Angus and Herefords. This experiment in hybrids and "cattaloes," as he called them, evoked keen interest from ranchers in Texas and elsewhere. But buffalo bulls were hard to obtain. One was brought from Monterey in 1893, but in that same year Donald Smith refused to dispose of any of his herd in Manitoba, and in 1898 the Interior Department also refused to sell or lease any to Boyd. Finally in 1900, after negotiations with the Interior Department conducted through George McHugh, the loan of a bull was arranged. In 1903 the Rocky Mountain Park arranged a trade—a buffalo bull of any age in exchange for some of Boyd's Persian sheep and the hybrids he had already raised. Although the clinical reports Boyd received from the Ontario Agricultural College were not at first encouraging, his habitual perseverance did not flag. In an article in the *Farmer's Magazine* of June, 1913, he explained his experiments and their purpose in detail. After his death, experiments were continued at the Rocky Mountain Park which acquired some twenty head of hybrids from his estate.

The whole problem obviously held much fascination for Boyd, as did all phases of his stock farming operations. His other main activities,

42. P.A.C., Boyd Papers, Vol. 395. Boyd was then only 35.

43. In this year the height of the Chicago steer market was reached. Cf. H. U. Faulkner, *American Political and Social History*, (New York, 1945), 423. Boyd may have had this condition in mind.

however, were neither so enjoyable nor so profitable. Unlike his lumbering and stock farming operations, the railroad of which he was president was beset by outside interference.

From the moment of its charter in 1890, the Lindsay, Bobcaygeon and Pontypool Railroad involved him in dissension. The line, a total of some fifty miles, had been planned to connect with the C.P.R. at Burketon, run north to Lindsay and north-east to Bobcaygeon, striking the Trent Canal, which was then still under construction. In spite of Boyd's tireless efforts, progress was agonizingly slow. Ratepayers, railroad executives, cabinet ministers and Sam Hughes all contributed to his difficulties. He found himself entangled in endless discussions with the Government over subsidies and bonuses, and with Shaughnessy and Van Horne over operating agreements. It was not until 1903 that Henry Wickham, who had replaced John Barron as solicitor for the railroad on Sam Hughes' insistence,[44] was able to report that Sir Thomas Shaughnessy was now open to discuss terms, so that construction could commence.

Scarcely less troublesome was the steamboat company of which Boyd was president. Chartered in 1883, the Trent Valley Navigation Co. operated a fleet of some half dozen steamboats, mostly side-wheelers, running passengers and freight from Lindsay to Coboconk, Sturgeon Point, Fenelon Falls and Bobcaygeon. One of the main items of freight seems to have been tourists, who came from all over the U.S., enticed to the Kawartha Lakes by the flood of advertising that Boyd put out in magazines, newspapers and folders. But although Boyd went at this venture heart and soul it was not a profitable enterprise. In 1902 a small profit of some $3000 was realized, but thereafter though revenues climbed, expenses climbed even higher. Finally in 1915 the company applied to surrender its charter.

This was the beginning of the break-up of what might be termed the Boyd empire, for Mossom Martin Boyd died suddenly on June 8, 1914

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44. P.A.C., Boyd Papers, Vol. 460, Hughes to Boyd, March 3, 1892. A few days later, incensed over supposed criticism about his action in publishing a notice concerning the railroad in the *Gazette,* Hughes took occasion to write Boyd in a strain worthy of his best efforts as Minister of Militia and Defence. "I am not regarded by the people who amount to anything in Victoria," he declared, "as the Needlers, the Barrons, O'Learys, Barrs, McIntyres, Flavelles & such regard me. I have crossed their interests for the people's welfare, and where are they today? All discredited and without the confidence of their fellow men." Seemingly oblivious of the fact that these men were Boyd's long time friends and business associates, he continued: "It must not be supposed the Needlers & Flavelles, etc., are necessary to the welfare of the county. Indeed, they are otherwise. Translate them to rest among the angels tomorrow, and next day would see the same number of cars of grain and produce shipped from Lindsay as usual. The world would wag on, and persons must act and legislate so as to serve the country's interests for present and future, more than to advance mere individual schemes." If Boyd felt any urge to remind Hughes that at that date he had served in Parliament less than a month and that the world might wag on without him too, he resisted it, for across this six-page tirade is endorsed the comment in Boyd's calm, neat script: "Not ans'd." Boyd Papers, Vol. 460, Hughes to Boyd, March 8, 1892.

in a Philadelphia nursing home, at the age of 59.[45] Barely a fortnight earlier, Henry Wickham had written as follows to Boyd's son Cust:

> Sometime ago, your father, in writing to me, appeared to have it in contemplation, to reorganize the whole of your business upon a limited liability corporation basis. From what you say, you seem to have some anxiety lest the Bank of Commerce, by reason of having pressure exerted upon it from the direction you indicate (Mackenzie and Mann) might pursue a course which would result in your being "squeezed" in respect of your B.C. holdings. . . . Your father, at the time he wrote me, seemed to have some idea of employing Z. A. Lash to advise him in regard to corporate reorganization. It might be that Lash's position as chief adviser to the Mackenzie & Mann interests would make such a choice inadvisable, though of course Lash is a first class man.[46]

When one reflects on the sheer scope and diversity of the Boyd interests and on the fact that they had grown extensive enough to warrant the employment of a man of such renown as Z. A. Lash, one's thoughts cannot help turning back to the picture of old Mossom Boyd driving his rafts and taking his $14 a month from John Langton—and only a mere sixty-five years earlier. Truly Boyd and his father lived and worked in an era when rich rewards could come swiftly to those who laboured.

45. He was buried in the family plot at the Peterborough Little Lake cemetery.
46. Boyd Papers, Vol. 211, Wickham to G. Cust Boyd, May 24, 1914.

PLEASE SEND US A GARRISON

By J. Mackay Hitsman

Although the strength of the British garrison in Canada continued to register, "like a barometer",[1] the condition of Anglo-American relations, Great Britain's repeal of the corn laws in 1846 and her adoption of free trade suggested the need for change and economy in colonial military policy. The taxpayers of a *laissez-faire* Britain could see no reason why four-fifths of colonial expenditure should be for military purposes, or even why they should be burdened with colonies at all. Thus we find the Colonial Secretary in a despatch of 22 March 1848 writing to Lord Elgin: "I confess I think that now the Canadians have self Govnt so completely granted to them they ought also to pay all its expenses including military protection. . . ."[2] But the Canadian government passively resisted such suggestions, and the natural desire to keep down taxes was not the only reason. There was a genuine belief that an elaborate and expensive military organization was unnecessary in peace time.[3]

1. C. P. Stacey, *Canada and the British Army 1846-1871.* A Study in the Practice of Responsible Government (London, 1936), xi.
2. Sir Arthur G. Doughty (ed), *The Elgin-Grey Papers 1846-1852* (Ottawa, 1937), I, 126.
3. Stacey, *op. cit.*, 115-6.

Yet this widely-held attitude completely ignored the advantages to the province when British regulars had been widely dispersed in small garrisons. In the absence of proper police forces, maintenance of law and order had devolved upon the British soldier who also had been frequently employed in the construction of roads and canals. Officers and men had to be fed and maintained, providing a source of ready money to local merchants in an economy which was not long removed from the pioneer stage. And while the other ranks may have been most popular with the local tavernkeepers, their officers provided a welcome addition to what society there was.

That these advantages had not completely escaped the notice of certain more astute inhabitants of Canada West is, however, evident from the correspondence received by Lieutenant-General Sir Fenwick Williams during the months following the outbreak of the American Civil War. Among the first to see possible advantages to his own municipality was Mayor James Dougall of Windsor, whose letter of 28 June 1861, addressed to Sir Fenwick Williams, reads very much like any present-day attempt to entice new industry or business to an up-and-coming Canadian community:

I see by the public press that several Regiments of Troops are coming to Canada, and that it is proposed to send a Company of the Royal Canadian Rifles[4] to Amherstburg.

I beg to call your attention to the fact that Windsor would be a much more eligible place to send them to than Amherstburg.

The Barracks in the latter place are at present occupied as a Lunatic Asylum and could not be appropriated for military purposes without a great amount of inconvenience, the only other buildings there belonging to the Govt are the old Commissariat Stores and these are not fit for quartering troops, it would cost more to put them in a suitable state to receive them than new ones could be built here.

Windsor being immediately opposite Detroit is more liable to sudden invasion than any other part of this frontier, and being the Terminus of the Great Western Railway and the principal business place on the frontier more damage could be done in a short time than anywhere else, our Railway Communications might be cut off or interrupted — and immense damage could be done by the burning of the Railway Depot, Cars, Workshops, &.

This Municipality some years ago bought the old Barrack property from the Govt after the buildings had been destroyed by fire, subject to being resumed by the Govt if required for Military purposes.

The property never has been used since and Barracks sufficient to accommodate a Company could be erected very Cheaply as the Materials— Lumber as well as Labour are very low at present.

Submitting these reasons for sending the Troops here instead of to Amherstburg for your favorable Consideration.[5]

4. A Regiment of the British Army authorized in 1840 for permanent garrison duties in Canada. It was recruited from and maintained by men who had already seen not less than seven years service in the British Army.

5. Public Archives of Canada, C 696, Dougall to Williams, June 28, 1861.

By 27 December 1861, when Mayor Dougall penned his next appeal, the situation had become critical: as a consequence of the "Trent Affair", the United States and Great Britain had moved close to a state of war and the first contingent of a large reinforcement of British regulars had just arrived in the lower St. Lawrence. This letter, therefore, seems to have been motivated more by patriotism and fear of actual invasion:

I had the honour some time ago of Communicating with your Excellency in regard to Sending troops to this place for the defence of this portion of the frontier—which includes the Terminus of the Great Western Railway—from any sudden invasion from the United States, and duly received your reply that no troops were then intended to be sent here.—

The great danger of War with the United States induces me again to trespass on your Excellency's time for the purpose of laying before you the wants of this portion of the Frontier.—

It is the general opinion in Detroit (with the principal inhabitants of which I am on intimate terms) that it would be absolutely necessary for the defence of their City that on the first breaking out of War they should send over a force sufficient to hold Windsor and thus gain control of the Western Terminus of the Great Western Railway as a protection for their City and also as a means of aggression on Canada, and there is no doubt but they would be successful unless we have a small body of regular Troops and Artillery round whom the Volunteers and Militia could rally.

I may also state to your Excellency that it is the general opinion here that in Case of War this Frontier will not be defended, what foundation there may be for this I cannot say, but I presume it has mainly arisen from your Excellencys not having visited this place on your recent tour to the west, and from the former opinions of Military authorities stationed here that it would not be protected.

I need not say that this idea has a very depressing effect on the inhabitants, and will make it difficult to procure volunteers, as they feel that a small force of volunteers and Militia would have no chance of a successful defence from invasion from Detroit which numbers about 50,000 inhabitants and is a place of great wealth and importance.—

With these views I would respectfully represent to your Excellency the great importance of sending a few regular troops and a Battery of Artillery to this place, which would at once give confidence to the inhabitants and a great impetus to volunteering as also a discouragement to the inhabitants of Detroit.

With a Couple of Companies of say the Royal Canadian Rifles and a Battery of Artillery together with the volunteer force that could be raised here we would be amply able to protect the place except in case of the advance of a large body of troops, in which case we could hold the Railway open for reinforcements or for retreat as you might deem most advisable under the circumstances.

Should your Excellency think it advisable to send troops here, I beg to tender on behalf of the Corporation of Windsor the free use of our Town Hall as a Barracks—it is a large two Storey Brick Building with cellars capable of comfortably accommodating two Companies of Troops.—

There is a pretty large hotel adjoining which could be rented very reasonable I think which would do for officers quarters—if required.—

My only motive in again applying to your Excellency is the deep interest I feel in the defence of the Country, as an evidence of which I may mention that when the Rebellion broke out here in 1837 and we were threatened with immediate invasion by large bands of Armed Sympathisers from Detroit under the self styled General Theller,[6] there were neither Arms, Ammunition or Provisions on this Frontier to supply the volunteers and Militia and we had no time to send to Toronto the nearest point where they could be got in Canada, under these Circumstances I advanced to a Committee of Magistrates appointed to take measures for our defence $12,000 in cash which I had past me, with which with the greatest exertions we were enabled to purchase in Detroit Arms, ammunition and provisions and were thus enabled to arm the volunteers and Militia and supply them with other necessarys—towards which end I also advanced about $14,000—of Blankets, Clothing and other necessaries at *Cost* prices.—Had it not been for this it would have been quite impossible for us to have defended this frontier from the assaults of General Theller which were made immediately after at Amherstburg where he and his vessel and men were captured with the Arms that I under providence was enabled to procure for them.[7]

Fortunately the crisis had been resolved before this and similar appeals from other communities in Canada West had time to reach the "Lieutenant-General Commanding in British North America" at his Montreal Headquarters. Thus Sir Fenwick Williams was able to dispose the additional regiments and batteries in a proper military fashion. Instead of doling them out in small detachments along the border where they might be gobbled up one by one, the units assigned to Canada West were concentrated at Kingston, Hamilton, Guelph and London, from which places they might launch counter-attacks against any invading force which a further crisis in Anglo-American relations might produce. No time was lost, however, in despatching Colonel J. W. Gordon of the Royal Engineers to visit and examine all points in the province likely to be menaced in the event of war. And Colonel Gordon and his associates were instructed to begin their investigations in the western portion of the province, with both Windsor and Amherstburg being listed among the first centres to be visited.[8]

6. George F. G. Stanley, *Canada's Soldiers 1604-1954*. The Military History of an Unmilitary People (Toronto, 1954), 204-5, gives a brief account of these happenings along the Detroit frontier.

7. P.A.C., C 696, Dougall to Williams, December 27, 1861.

8. P.A.C., C 1323, Memorandum of instructions for Colonel Gordon Royal Engineers and the Field Officer of Artillery who will accompany him, January 23, 1862.

Eula C. Lapp, author of "Beware: Horse Thieves! Pirates! Witches!" (Volume 50, Number 3, this Journal) has written to register a protest on behalf of 'three greats-grandfather' Carscallen, whose name inadvertently was rendered as 'Carscadden' on page 168 of the article. Our apologies to the doughty, much-travelled Loyalist.

LANDS AND POLICIES: ATTITUDES AND CONTROLS IN THE ALIENATION OF LANDS IN ONTARIO DURING THE FIRST CENTURY OF SETTLEMENT

By J. Howard Richards

Land settlement has been subject to varying controls and attitudes since the earliest days of farm pioneering in this province. First as part of Quebec, later as Upper Canada and Canada West, and eventually as Ontario, the province underwent many changes in settlement policy and in land administration. These occurred partly because of differing views on the role and function of new lands and partly because of changing responsibilities among the Imperial, Provincial and later Dominion governments. While these changes possessed political implications, the controls and attitudes varied mainly according to the availability of lands suitable for settlement at various stages in the province's history. It is this relationship of space and time with the policy of land alienation which is considered in this study.

No apology is made for the selection of data reproduced in this paper. Much of the material has been drawn upon by others for studies whose main purpose has been either to trace the history of policy relating to land administration, or to relate the latter to the evolution of responsible government. Here the object is to demonstrate that the amount and type of available land has significantly affected official attitudes in the administration of Ontario's Crown lands.

During the first century of settlement in Ontario three broad phases may be distinguished in the history of the alienation of public lands. From 1780 to 1825 the principle of free land grants was established and maintained. Between 1825 and 1850, when land no longer was available in some of the surveyed section of old Ontario, alienation by sale became the common method of disposing of Crown lands. And finally, from 1850 to 1875, when the Ottawa-Huron Tract was opened up, free land grants were revived and settlement of the empty area north of the Precambrian boundary was actively encouraged. This first century not only to all intents and purposes comprises the complete history of Crown land alienation in southern Ontario, but it also concludes in a complete reversal of the early settlement policies. After ninety years during which the desirable goal was full agricultural settlement, the withdrawal of the Muskoka Free Grant Lands from settlement in 1871 demonstrated official recognition of the fact that not all land was suited to farming.

By 1784 the whole country west of the Ottawa had received 10,000 settlers; by 1788 this number had increased to 17,000, and in 1791 it was rather less than 25,000.[1] These occupied widely separated settlements

1. Paterson, G. C., *Land Settlement in Upper Canada, 1783-1840* (Sixteenth Report of the Department of Archives, Province of Ontario, 1920), 21, 24, 32.

centred along the Detroit River, the Niagara frontier, the Bay of Quinte and the upper St. Lawrence. By 1838, when the population was still only about 400,000, it was possible to state: "It may almost be said, therefore, that the whole of the public lands [i.e., the seventeen million acres surveyed at that date] in Upper Canada have been alienated by the Government."[2] In short, less than half a century had sufficed to appropriate the best lands in Ontario without their having become populated. From vast, empty lands the character had changed; Upper Canada now was a province of vast, alienated, empty lands: "In Upper Canada . . . very little more than a seventeenth part of the surveyed lands remains at the disposal of the Crown. The remaining sixteen parts have been long since granted or appropriated; but of this granted land very little more than a tenth, in the whole, is occupied by settlers."[3] It is evident that grants to actual farm settlers was not the cause of the dearth of public lands of good farming quality which developed after 1820; instead the shortage is attributable to methods of land granting which were conducive to appropriation without settlement. While it may be unnecessary to dwell upon the many forms of alienation adopted during the period before 1825 their major aspects are worth examination, particularly from the standpoint of their appearance and modification in time.

The principle of bestowing grants to encourage settlement was instituted after the fall of New France, when the Governor-in-Council was empowered in 1763 to grant Crown lands to settlers, fairly large grants being allowed in the case of reduced officers. The accompanying instructions specified the payment of quit rents and permitted grants to be varied according to the size of family, with increases up to 1,000 acres if there was intention of cultivation. The survey of the area west of the Ottawa was begun in 1781, and by 1784 a considerable number of United Empire Loyalists had arrived in this district. The system of free grants was extended to the Loyalists and to reduced officers on a scale according to rank. Although a small settlement had occurred earlier in 1778 along the Niagara River, grants to Loyalists and others after 1783 represent the first significant aid to settlement in the district above the Ottawa.[4] Indeed, the system of making free grants to settlers was to remain an approved, if not always successful, approach to the opening of vacant lands in the province. And it was all the more necessary during the period of initial colonization.

Between 1783 and 1791 various changes were made in the regulations governing the size and conditions of grants, all varying on the side of generosity. With the separation of the Province of Quebec into Lower and Upper Canada in 1791 new instructions were introduced to prevent

2. Lucas, C. P., ed., *Lord Durham's Report on the Affairs of British North America* (Oxford, 1912), II, 219.
3. *Ibid.*, III, 35.
4. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 22.

the granting of large areas to individuals.[5] The size of a farm lot was set at 200 acres and these could be granted to anyone who took an oath of loyalty and satisfied the minimum conditions of settlement. The patents, as before, reserved the right to specific mineral and timber resources.[6] Increases up to 1,000 acres could be made in "exceptional" cases but, in actual fact, these were allowed very frequently. The group which benefited most from the system of free grants was the Loyalists, who with their children received 3,200,000 acres[7] of the 5,786,946 acres of non-fee grants disbursed previous to the year 1838. Another 1,276,526 acres were given to militiamen and to discharged soldiers and sailors. Of these lands only a very small portion (perhaps less than one-tenth) was even occupied by settlers, much less reclaimed and cultivated.[8]

Under the Constitutional Act of 1791 lands were reserved for the support of Protestant clergy but in fact became an endowment of the Church of England. They were to be equal in extent to one-seventh of all grants made by the Crown.[9] Crown reserves of similar proportions were also to be set up in each township. The institution of these reserves helped produce one of the major barriers to settlement during the first half century. A select committee in 1828 wrote of the Clergy Reserves: ". . . these reserved lands, as they are at present distributed over the country, retard more than any other circumstance the improvement of the Colony, lying as they do in detached portions in each township, and intervening between the occupation of actual settlers, who have no means of cutting roads through the woods and morasses, which thus separate them from their neighbours."[10]

The bulk of these reserves were set out as separated 200-acre lots in each township, but where township lands had already been pre-empted, they also occurred in blocks. In theory improvement of the granted lands might raise the value of the reserves; actually, however, "these reserves had more influence in retarding the progress of settlement than the labours of the settlers had in increasing their value."[11] Because they could be occupied by lease only,[12] the reserves were ignored in favour of freehold grants which, despite the payment of fees, were financially no more onerous to acquire.[13] Thus the reserves represented, in a sense, lands withdrawn from settlement. Secondly, being unsettled lands, they had

5. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 53.
6. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 34.
7. Lucas, *op. cit.*, II, 222.
8. *Ibid.* Vol. II, 223.
9. In actual practice, as pointed out in the Durham Report, instead of being one-seventh of all lands granted the reserves were set apart as one-seventh of all the land: see Lucas, III, 56.
10. Lucas, *op. cit.*, II, 220, quoting the Select Committee of the House of Commons on the Civil Government of Canada.
11. *Ibid.*, III, 103.
12. Sales of Crown reserves only were sanctioned in 1826, sales of not more than 100,000 acres per annum being permitted in 1827.
13. Gourlay, R., *Statistical Account of Upper Canada* (London 1822), II, 384.

an adverse effect upon the normal spread of population, producing isolated settlements separated by wild lands. A report of 1822 shows that less than ten per cent of a total of 7,144 Crown reserves was under lease.[14]

Large-scale landholding, generally meaning the alienation of public lands without concomitant settlement, came about in various ways. One was the system of granting townships to leaders who brought in a group of settlers,[15] the latter receiving grants of 200 acres apiece while the leaders were awarded 1,200 acres along with further lands to compensate them for the work and expense involved in the settlement of the group.[16] Another was the speculative purchase of lands from Loyalists and other grantees who had no desire to become settlers. Finally, large grants were made to deserving persons, like the 48,500 acres awarded Colonel Talbot for his successful colonization of the Talbot Settlement.[17] Less deserving individuals also received grants, while inept bookkeeping and possibly dishonesty withdrew still further sections from settlement.[18]

Surveyor-General D. W. Smith's "Plan of the Organized Part of the Province"[19] of 1789 indicated the close relationship at this time between settlement and navigable water in the upper St. Lawrence, the lower Ottawa rivers and Lakes Ontario and Erie. In his Plan the organized or surveyed townships connected, cartographically at least, the old water-side settlements. But since the actual population was less than 20,000, colonization at that date had rarely progressed beyond the front or water-side townships, and indeed was anything but continuous even along the front, large gaps occurring in the region about Toronto and elsewhere. There were no connecting roads, and meagre contact existed between the few concentrations of settlers. The obvious contrast was that of great space and few people. This complicated the problem of assessing fees to cover the costs of conveying legal titles to settlers' lands. It was felt by the Executive Council in 1793 that the suggested fees were excessive and "might operate as a check on population in this distant province.[20] From 1791 to 1804 [indeed from 1784] it would appear that "grants were altogether gratuitous, and that no fees were payable except to an amount just sufficient to compensate the various officers concerned in passing the grant"[21] — again suggestive of a feeling that only by facile alienation could the unlimited space be reduced. Even then, fees were not required of some of the largest classes of recipients, the United Empire Loyalists and their children, or of the military claimants.

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14. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 137.
15. Lucas, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, 23. Only ten townships were so granted, the system being abandoned in 1797 because of the number of applications.
16. Innis, H. A. & Lower, A. R. M., *Select Documents in Canadian Econ. History* (Toronto, 1933), 71.
17. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 56.
18. Lucas, *ibid.*, 59.
19. See the map by D. W. Smith, Surveyor General, in Paterson, *op. cit.*, 80.
20. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 40.
21. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 54.

This system was continued from 1804 to 1818, during which time and upon payment of fees "land was granted to almost every applicant, in lots of 100 to 1,200 acres, in addition to the free grants to privileged persons, and till 1818 the grants were free from all conditions.[22] By then the diminution in land available for settlement, and the recognition that settlement had not gone hand-in-hand with land alienation, brought forth an order-in-council requiring the performance of settlement duties.[23] Henceforth the grantee was to erect a habitable house and to clear and fence at least five acres in a hundred. For by this time the only lands still available for granting were difficult of access (as in the London District)[24], inferior (as in the line of townships, surveyer in 1820, between the Ottawa valley and Lake Simcoe), or they were isolated by lands previously alienated and held by Loyalists and speculators but which remained unsettled and wild. The adverse effects of such lands were well recognized, and in 1816 it was stated that there was "no measure which legally could be adopted for resuming large grants of land remaining uncultivated which His Majesty's Government was not prepared to sanction.[25]

By 1820 the pattern of actual settlement still resembled that of a generation earlier. The rather complex "Map of Upper Canada" which accompanies Gourlay's Statistical Account[26] shows that despite the increased depth of the organized zone, the surveyed areas were still associated with the main waterways. However, a north-south axis of settlement had appeared along Yonge Street to Georgian Bay, the result of the Yonge Street military road and of military interest in Penetanguishene. Few of the townships in the Georgian Bay-Lake Simcoe area or in the northerly tier of townships between Lake Simcoe and the Ottawa Lowlands had received settlers at this date, settlement in both sections occurring from 1820 onward. Except in the southeast, where surveyed townships straddled the Frontenac Axis, the northerly limit of the surveyed area coincided closely with the southern boundary of the Canadian Shield, an area which was to prove physically unattractive to farm settlement. Thus two large areas remained unsurveyed in Upper Canada, both of which offered special problems. The western section, or London District, because of poor communication and other reasons, required special forms of development and planning before it could be opened, while the northern portion on the Canadian Shield was ill-adapted to agriculture.

At the same time the bulk of the land in the surveyed sections had been alienated or was in reserves, and the little that remained was interspersed with wild lands. A summary of land disposal shows baldly the extent of land alienation up to the year 1825: "The quantity of Crown lands disposed of, or appropriated . . . amounts in the whole, including

22. *Ibid.*, 66.
23. *Ibid.*, 54.
24. The Chippewa Lands of the London District were not surrendered until 1825 and later.
25. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 128.
26. Gourlay, *op. cit.*

the sale to the Canada Company in the Huron district and elsewhere, to rather more than 13½ million acres . . . ; and with the exception of certainly less than 600,000 acres, all of the granted land, or 13,000,000 acres, was disposed of prior to, or in satisfaction of claims which arose before the year 1825 at which time the population was under 150,000.[27]

The decision in 1815 to reduce the size of grants to ordinary settlers from 200 to 100 acres, together with the order-in-council of 1818 insisting on the fulfillment of occupation duties on all grants, provide the first real evidence of a stiffening attitude in land settlement. This was followed in 1819 by a tax on wild lands, the revenues from which were to be applied to local road construction. A new act in 1824 made it possible to sell part of these lands where assessments were in arrears for eight years. The fees on grants were increased in 1819 and again in 1820, though for a few years settlers in poor circumstances were given fifty acres free of fees.

This stiffening attitude is not difficult to understand. Despite the general intention of providing "against evils similar to those which had been experienced in other North American Colonies from excessive grants to individuals, and which therefore established 200 acres as the ordinary extent of a grant",[28] approximately thirteen-seventeenths of the surveyed area had been granted or promised prior to 1825. In part the change was occasioned by the need for funds. Further, when the land had been empty it appeared logical to encourage settlement by generosity in the granting of land both to immigrants and particularly to "meritorious servants". The wisdom of defining the size of basic grants was overlooked at a time when land appeared limitless and settlement was so necessary, when salaries were in the form of fees and rewards in land were so easily provided. A good deal of time elapsed before the realization dawned that settlement and large-scale grants were not necessarily related and, indeed, might be mutually exclusive. By then the extent of good available land was small. Even so, the new attitude born of land scarcity was not to be of a permanent character, and evils reminiscent of the early phases of land alienation were to be reproduced within thirty years on newly surveyed vacant lands. Meanwhile, however, the selling rather than free granting of public lands, the opening of the locked lands of the reserves to purchase, and a tougher attitude including a system of fines for speculators holding wild lands—all became part of government policy.

The first public sale of a large quantity of Crown lands, involving about 200,000 acres of "school lands", occurred in 1823.[29] This was followed in 1825 by an order-in-council providing for the valuation of Crown lands and the fixing of average prices by districts, and in 1826 by the introduction of a system of land sales. Regulations governing these sales permitted the purchase of a maximum of 1,200 acres by instalment or

27. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 56.
28. *Ibid.*, III, 53.
29. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 138.

by cash sale; 200 acres could be purchased under a system of quit-rent sales. To counteract speculation, sales were to be advertised with the upset price stated. In 1827 an act authorized sales of up to 100,000 acres of Clergy Reserves per annum, with payments to be by instalments spread over a ten-year period.

By this date another means of opening lands to settlement had emerged. The Canada Company, formed in 1823, purchased nearly one and a half million acres of Crown Reserves, together with a block of a million acres in the Huron Tract of the Western and London Districts. "The sale to the Canada Company . . . was in effect, and was intended to be, a delegation of the powers of Government in this important particular to a private company, prompted, apparently, by the obvious ill-success [in settlement] of the proceedings of the Government, and by the hope that perhaps having a deep pecuniary stake in the result of their measures would be more careful, and therefore more successful, in their operations".[30]

At the time of the grant the lands of the Company in the south-western part of the province were beyond the settled sections. But in 1833 alone more than 30,000 acres were sold in the Huron Tract, and Guelph and Goderich were established as towns, while an additional 53,019 acres of former Crown Reserves, now in Company hands, were also sold.[31] It would appear that the Canada Company was successful in its settlement operations, though it is difficult to determine whether its success was attributable mainly to the Company's energetic programme (including the building of roads, erection of mills, advertising, the stationing of emigration agents at various ports) or whether the times themselves were especially propitious. Certainly this was a period of heavy immigration; the population of Upper Canada grew rapidly, from 95,000 in 1814 to 150,000 in 1825, 400,000 in 1838 and 791,000 in 1849. It is possible that this general rise in population would have enabled a reasonable system of government sales and settlement in the Huron Tract and elsewhere to produce the same results.

Yet the total amount of land alienated in this period of heavy settlement was far less than in the preceding era. "From 1763 to 1825, during which period the population had slowly grown up to 150,000 souls, the quantity granted or engaged to be granted by the Crown was upwards of 13,000,000 acres, while during the 13 subsequent years in which the population increased from 150,000 to 400,000, the quantity disposed of, including the sale of clergy reserves is under 600,000 acres".[32] The rate of alienation by grants after 1825 was reduced not by a dearth of would-be settlers but by a lack of available lands. During the years down to 1838 and for some years beyond, the conditions for patenting lands were made considerably more onerous.

30. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 55.
31. Innis & Lower, *op. cit.*, 94.
32. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 59-60.

The system of land sales authorized in 1826 was maintained as the basic method of land transfer. Yet speculation was still possible because of the generous credit permitted the purchasers, because of the widespread practice of holding lands by initial down payment only, and because of the laxity in enforcing the regulations relating to residence. Furthermore, though the instructions of 1827 regarding the disposal by sale of public lands laid down as a general principle that free grants should be discontinued, only 100,317 acres were actually sold down to 1838, against 2,000,000 acres which were disposed by free grant, "all in respect of antecedent claims".[33] In 1832 an attempt was made to prevent large-scale land speculation. Previous orders relating to settlement were cancelled and patents were to be withheld until satisfactory proof was provided that resident settlers were actually established on the land. Loyalists remained unaffected by these new regulations and retained their rights to free grants; but military claimants were henceforth to purchase their land, although later they obtained part of the purchase price from the government. By the act of 1838 free grants, except in special cases like the United Empire Loyalists, were entirely discontinued and public lands were not to be sold privately except after having been offered publicly at an upset price.[34]

By the forties most of the desirable land in southern Ontario had been settled or alienated.[35] Because there was relatively little unalienated land but much alienated, unsettled land, the acts tended to become more strict. After 1842 land prices were to be fixed from time to time by the Governor-in-Council; lands on which settlement duties had not been fulfilled within two years of the passage of this act and on which payments were in arrears, were to be sold. However this same act continued to hold out free grants to actual settlers in the immediate vicinity of public roads in order to ensure that they were maintained. In 1853 these grants were increased to 100 acres.[36]

The foregoing pages show some of major trends in the transfer of lands from the Crown into private hands during a sequence of changing administrative controls in which one may discern, at least in intention, a progressive stiffening in land-granting regulations. Many factors are involved in this changing official attitude. The progressive reduction in the quantity of lands available for settlement, particularly land well suited to agriculture, necessitated such changes. By 1820 no land was available in the Niagara District;[37] by the end of the thirties practically all lands in the townships between the front and the Shield were alienated; by 1848 the only large area available for settlement south of the "Laurentian

33. *Ibid.*, 229.
34. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 171.
35. Innis and Lower, *op. cit.*, 86-88.
36. Ontario. *Sessional Papers*, 1908. No. 3, "History of Crown Timber Regulations," 255.
37. Paterson, *op. cit.*, 33-69.

Line" (that is, not on the Shield) was in southern Bruce and in Grey counties and most of this was thrown open to settlement in that year. Excessive speculation in lands had held up the settlement of large areas.[38] According to A. F. Hunter: "There was a regular system of speculation in Crown Lands. Many persons paid only one instalment, paid no taxes, and held the lands at high prices. This resulted in transferring almost every vacant lot in the county from the Crown to private individuals, thus driving away actual settlers."[39]

In the township of Verulam (Victoria County) there were only sixty-eight householders in the year 1842, ten years after it had been opened. Here, too, the paucity of settlement was mainly due to the fact that large holdings were in the hands of speculators.[40] The situation was no different in southwestern Ontario where, in the counties of Lambton, Middlesex, Oxford and Wentworth, nearly 1,300,000 acres were held but only 8,000 acres were under cultivation.[41] The physical means of making further large-scale alienation had been reduced to a minimum, curtailing the tendency toward overindulgence in land granting.

The principle of free grants, with the few exceptions stated above, was dead. In 1854 the Clergy Reserves, criticized for so long, were secularized. The Act of 1859 restated the regulations of 1819 under which proof of residence and of cultivation was required before patents to Crown Lands were to be granted. An order-in-council (Crown Regulation No. 16, 1859) made it possible to sell all unpatented lands in arrears for taxes, and, as a consequence, "in 1863 [the Government] resumed and offered for sale unpatented and unimproved lands in the township of Tay, the non-resident holders of which had not paid arrearages, but were holding them for the purpose of speculation."[42] This act of 1859 is basic to all present Public Land Acts.

At midcentury only one part of southern Ontario not on the Shield —the Bruce Peninsula—still remained unsurveyed. This was opened immediately but proved to be a miserable area for farm settlement; its rocky limestone plains and shallow soils discouraged true settlement once the forest was removed. Elsewhere the surveyed townships now overlapped the edge of the Huron-Ottawa tract (i.e. the area underlain by Precambrian rocks between Georgian Bay and the Ottawa Valley) to a depth of two or more townships. In the Ottawa Valley the surveys had been carried as far north as Pembroke following the lumbering industry; here the organised area included townships in the lowland (a graben) and on the Shield.[43] Future surveys, like parts of those of earlier times,

38. Innis & Lower, *op. cit.*, 88.
39. Hunter, A. F., *A History of Simcoe County* (Barrie, Ont., 1909), I, 56.
40. Kirkconell, Watson, *History of Victoria County* (Lindsay, 1921), 58.
41. Day, S. P., *English America* (London, 1864) I, 193.
42. Hunter, *op. cit.*, 59.
43. See the map of "Upper Canada or Canada West," published in Smith, W.H., *Canada, Past, Present & Future* (Toronto, 1851).

would have to be carried on outside the lands possessing reasonable potentialities for agriculture.

Constantly increasing population pressure together with the diminution of good farm land brought about a system of more rigid regulations, not always properly enforced, regarding the appropriation of lands. By 1851 the population of Upper Canada had reached 952,000 and the bulk of Southern Ontario south of the Precambrian boundary was fairly well settled. Now new farmers had to be accommodated either by more intensive occupation of the established areas (mainly through buying lands from private owners) or by being placed in the region underlain by Precambrian rocks, between Georgian Bay and the Ottawa valley. Lumbering had already penetrated the Huron-Ottawa Tract along a number of streams, particularly along the Madawaska, Mississippi and Bonnechere, tributaries of the Ottawa. Heretofore farm settlement had scarcely touched the Shield except in the Perth district (where Perth itself had been established in 1816 as a depot for immigrants directed into this district); on the Frontenac Axis between Kingston and Brockville; along the tributaries of the Ottawa (where some farm settlement followed lumbering operations between 1830 and 1850); and in a few scattered locations such as the Madoc-Marmora mining area. Lumbering, therefore, was spilling over to the Shield, an area removed from easy access to seasonal labour and from supplies of food and fodder, factors directly connected with operating costs of the industry.

By this time the concept of the poverty of the Precambrian area as agricultural land was winning some acceptance. "Let us not," exclaimed one witness before a Select Committee, "encourage the wanton foolish policy of the Crown Land Department in surveying a township in which nothing but pine and rock exist".[44] Consequently there was little to encourage a large-scale movement by farmers to the Shield. The lack of enthusiasm was not helped by the fact that the days of wholesale free land grants were over. While mainly the result of inaccessibility, the lateness of settlement on the Canadian Shield was also due in part to the system of land granting that had evolved during the course of opening the more accessible lands in the southern part of the province. Easy and early alienation with consequent speculation had been the rule during that era. Speculation in turn had brought about a tightening of regulations relating to the transfer of public lands. Speculation had slowed down the natural impetus of settlement, while regulations designed partly to combat it, themselves became a brake, slowing down movement on to what was now the only available land in southern Ontario.

Many townships, some on the Shield, along the border of the Precambrian (or along the "Laurentian Line", as it was sometimes referred to in contemporary writings) had been surveyed early. Along the western

44. Ontario. Sessional Papers, *op. cit.*, 225.

and central sections, Matchedash had been surveyed in 1830; Bexley and Somerville in the 1830's; Burleigh in 1834 and Lake in 1827; Sheffield and townships on the Frontenac axis between 1810 and 1830. These were all part of "old Ontario". But in most settlement was meagre or absent, and much of the area was in near-aboriginal state. Some of the land comprising these townships had been held by speculators and this had played a part in inhibiting settlement.

For even in old Ontario settlement had been selective rather than generally diffused. In northern Bruce lots were hardly settled before they were abandoned and a great many more were never occupied. The same discrimination is seen in the rejection by all but a handful of farm settlers, of townships lying on limestone plains and moraines immediately adjacent to the Precambrian area, and it was reflected in the meagreness of settlements in those parts of surveyed townships occupying typical Shield terrain such as Lake, Marmora, Madoc, Elzevir and others. But for all practical purposes old Ontario was full by 1850, and then began the surveying of the new townships on the Shield and the revival of efforts to encourage settlement in that area.

Active steps were taken to place settlers in these new townships. Colonization roads were built; by an act of 1853 free land grants of 100 acres were made available to settlers along the roads, and later to others in designated Free Grant Lands, while the Ottawa-Huron Tract was vigorously advertised in the British Isles and in Europe. The results, however, were not especially successful, as a report of a Select Committee of 1863 indicates: "It appears that settlement has been unreasonably pushed in some localities quite unfit to become the permanent residence of an agricultural population. Especially has this been the case on some of the Free Grant Roads and adjacent country lying between the waters of the Ottawa and Lake Ontario. . . . The government should, in all cases, ascertain positively the character of the country before throwing open any tract of land for settlement."[45]

The colonization roads were intended to assist in introducing settlers into the Ottawa-Huron Tract and were designed as a net of service roads connecting the areas in which new settlers were to be located. The earlier of these roads had been built to aid the lumberman; now as colonization roads they were improved to permit wagon traffic. Governmental assistance had been forthcoming for construction of the Arnprior-Pembroke road to enable supplies to be carried north, avoiding the rapids in that part of the Ottawa. This was followed in 1854 by the building of the Ottawa and Opeongo Colonization Road, and other roads were constructed during the next twenty years.[46]

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45. *Ibid.*, 231.
46. Spragge, G. W., "Colonization Roads in Canada West, 1850-1867" (*Ontario History,* XLIX (1), Winter 1957), 10.

While it appears that the general policy after 1850 remained one of encouraging the fullest settlement of the Province, and while it is true that settlement did occur along these roads[47]—for example, the construction of fifty-eight miles of the Ottawa-Opeongo Road resulted in the immediate settlement of 132 families—it is probable that the more important function of the colonization road was to extend lumbering rather than to settle the Shield. The following statement to a select committee of 1832 represents one view of the respective roles of farmer and lumberman in this region: "The land timbered with hardwoods is destined to sustain a large body of agriculturalists in close proximity to the great timber making centres. It enables us to raise the grains, fodders and provisions consumed in timber making, from eighty to ninety miles nearer the ground of consumption than we do now.[48] But Perry, the agent for the Addington Road, appealed to the farm settler on a different basis: "And shall we hesitate to leave the refuse shallow soils that overlay the limestone beds of the frontier townships and go on to the rich loams of the interior? . . . In ten years the rich valley of the Madawaska and the no less rich valleys that lie scattered among the granite ranges will teem with life and the bustle of commerce."[49] Lumbering, as elsewhere on the Shield, preceded settlement in the area served by the Addington Road. Kaladar and Anglesea had no recorded population in the Census of 1851-52, but forest operations were being conducted in both, for example at Flint's Mills (Flinton). In 1855, at the time the Addington Road was being built, assessment rolls already showed forty-six and sixty-eight occupiers of lands in these townships.

For those who had moved up the colonization roads there were a number of apparent advantages. Some could secure free grants adjacent to the roads while, theoretically, all could participate in the part-time work and in the local market provided by the forest industries. One view of the latter is expressed here: "The actual bona fide settler . . . finds the operations of the lumber merchant to his advantage, by reason of the roads constructed and the markets for his produce thereby afforded."[50] Nevertheless, the roads achieved limited success as instruments of colonization and other means of inducing settlers on to the Shield were sought. In 1865 the Simcoe County Council asked that all Crown Lands suitable for agriculture and valued at less than $4 an acre be granted free to genuine settlers.[51] Here was a renewed recognition of the need for bait, in the shape of free land, in order to attract population. The County Council also requested that the arrears of settlers in the town-

47. Richards, J. H. "Land Use & Settlement Patterns on the Fringe of the Shield in Southern Ontario." (Ph.D. Thesis, University of Toronto, 1954), 127-141.
48. Ontario. Sessional Papers, *op. cit.*, 225.
49. Transactions of the Board of Agriculture, Upper Canada, II, 1858, 171.
50. Ontario. Sessional Papers, *op. cit.*, 231.
51. Hunter, *op. cit.*, 60.

ships of Morrison and Muskoka be forgiven. Thus it was the northern part of the county on the Shield that caused concern.

In 1868 "An Act to Secure Free Grants and Homesteads" was passed by the Provincial Legislature. By this the Lieutenant-Governor was empowered to appropriate any public lands "not valuable for pine timber or minerals" and to designate such lands as free grants to actual settlers. The free grant system was first applied in the Muskoka District, which was opened for settlement in 1868 and which included Morrison and Muskoka as free grant townships. Under the Free Grant and Homesteads Act of 1868, "Any person arrived at the age of eighteen may obtain, gratis, a hundred acres in the Free Grant Districts. The settlement duties are to have fifteen acres cleared and under crop, of which at least two acres are to be cleared and cultivated annually for five years; to build a habitable house at least sixteen by twenty feet in size, and to reside on the land for at least six months in each year".[52]

The Free Grant Districts were well removed from the settled area of the south. They were located in the Algoma and Nipissing Districts, in "lands between the Ottawa and Georgian Bay, to the west of a line drawn from a point opposite the south-east corner of the township of Palmerston, north-westerly along the western boundary of other townships to the Ottawa river, and north of the northern boundaries of Oso, Olden, Kennebec, Kaladar, Elzevir, Madoc, Marmora, Belmont, Dummer, Smith, Ennismor, Sommerville, Laxton, Carden, Rama and the River Severn."[53] It will be noted that the southern boundary of this region coincided closely with the line of the Precambrian contact. Some settlement had already penetrated this area via colonization roads already built, for example, along the Ottawa-Opeongo, the Hastings, the Muskoka roads, but nowhere, however, had it achieved a status common in the non-Shield townships within a few years of initial settlement. By this time the surveys had been extended up the Ottawa to Lake Nipissing and from south-central Ontario to the Huron-Ottawa Tract and to the north shore of Lake Huron.

During this period, 1850-1875, settlement left the bounds of old Ontario, attracted by new lands and free grants and assisted by colonization roads. For the settler, too, the 'nearby' market and the opportunities for part-time work were significant incentives. But the one real resource of the Shield was the timber, for which a ready market existed. Consequently many pseudo-settlers entered into locations, denuded them of their timber and then moved on to repeat the process—a habit that was time-honoured in the province.[54] For recognition of bogus settlement may be seen in a recommendation, as far back as 1854, by a committee reporting on the System of Management of Public Lands—that enough of

52. Ontario Dept. of Agriculture, Emigration to Canada "The Province of Ontario, Its Soils, Climate, Resources, Institutions & Free Grant Lands" (Toronto, 1869), 22.
53. *Ibid.*, 24.
54. Lucas, *op. cit.*, III, 113-115.

the purchase money be paid initially to prevent timber plundering and subsequent abandonment.[55] At this time the settler had no rights to the timber, but long after conditional rights were accorded him it still remained necessary to guard against this same abuse, as an order-in-council of 1899 attests: "Occupants, locatees or actual purchasers of public lands, should not, unless under settlers' licenses, or for clearing, fencing or building purposes be permitted to cut or dispose of timber until they had gone into bona fide occupation of the land."[56]

But even when settlement was genuine and not inspired by a desire to steal the timber, the permanency of the farmer settler continued problematical. Poor lands and distance from markets were soon to produce much abandonment. From the beginning a few had recognized that not all the land of these sections was arable, and these had spoken strongly on the subject before a select committee of the Legislative Assembly during the 1854-5 session: " . . . the quantity of arable land is comparatively small, much must forever remain a forest country. . . . It is not desirable to have forest tracts wholly unfit for settlement surveyed into subdivided townships. The expense is lost to the public and the subdivision offers facilities for the plundering of timber from the adjoining Crown land."[57] Though the Free Grant Districts helped to introduce farm settlers, the success was small. Indeed, some of the townships designated as Free Grant lands failed to receive a single settler and ultimately were withdrawn from settlement.

The third element involved in settling the Ottawa-Huron Tract was that of advertising. Pamphlets in English, French, German and Norwegian were distributed in Europe and an agency was set up to receive the anticipated immigrants. Immigration agents were not new in Canada, and emigration agents had operated abroad in ports like Dublin, Greenock, Liverpool and Bristol during the thirties. But now, following upon the institution of the Free Grant Lands, further and stronger advertising measures were taken. In 1868 posters were prepared for display in cities in Canada and the British Isles while "As a further measure to increase immigration Mr. Thomas White has been appointed special Emigration Commissioner from Ontario to Great Britain."[58] In 1868, the Dominion Government also set up an emigration headquarters in London and established agents elsewhere.

In the Province of Ontario immigration was in the charge of a Commissioner of Agriculture and the Arts: the appointment of Mr. Thomas White was under this jurisdiction. In 1869 this department published a pamphlet entitled "Ontario Department of Agriculture, Emigration to Canada, 'The Province of Ontario, Its Soils, Climate, Resources, Institu-

55. Ontario. Sessional Papers, *op. cit.*, 218, also 186.
56. *Ibid.*, 256.
57. *Ibid.*, 224; and, again, "We go for keeping a fair line of separation between the lumbering and agricultural regions, as nature has laid it down" (225).
58. "The Province of Ontario, Its Soils," etc., *op. cit.*, 1.

tions and Free Grant Lands'." This publication tacitly acknowledged the difficulties of agricultural settlement in certain areas along the "Laurentian Line" and endeavoured to reassure potential immigrants that the new lands being opened between the Ottawa and Georgian Bay offered greater possibilities as farm lands. Earlier at the time of the construction of the Opeongo, Hastings and Addington roads, official pamphlets had been circulated to describe the advantages of the Ottawa-Huron Tract, but in these the arguments were seductive: "Some years ago the impression went abroad that our best lands were exhausted . . . but settlement meantime was turning the flanks of the Laurentian line . . . The further they [the lumbermen and surveyors] penetrated into the interior, the better the land became . . . It lies moreover near waters which either are or can easily be made navigable. A market already exists in the lumber camps."[59] Nevertheless, the active immigration programme failed to introduce large numbers into this region.

However, this period marks the origin of some of the cultural and ethnic groups in Ontario. National groups tended to separate themselves along the colonization roads and in the Free Grant Districts. German settlements along the upper Ottawa, Polish settlements in the Barry's Bay—Killaloe[60] section of Renfrew, and German settlements in Denbigh along the Addington Road illustrate such separation. Irish, Scottish and German settlements in Bruce County and elsewhere have retained something of their identity, but in Renfrew, particularly, groups from continental Europe have tended to remain especially distinctive.

One other device to attract settlement into this region was the land company. In 1861, prior to the Free Grants Land Act, an English joint stock company, the Canadian Land and Emigration Company of London, agreed to purchase ten townships at 50c an acre. These included Longford in Victoria County and Dysart, Harcourt, Guilford, Harburn, Bruton, Havelock, Clyde and Eyre in Haliburton County (formed in 1874 from the northern townships of Victoria and Peterborough). Actual settlement began in 1864 and was aided by the Bobcaygeon Road and by the Burleigh Road. The venture was not a financial success, nor was it particularly worthwhile from other considerations. In 1871, after seven years of settlement, the total population on the Company lands was only 655. Indeed, some of the townships have shown no recorded settlement down to the present and one, Longford, after being sold for its pine, passed through various hands, and was, in 1948, in the possession of the Longford Reserve Limited, of Cleveland, Ohio.[61]

Despite the attempts at full settlement, the Huron and Ottawa Tract was destined to remain relatively empty and to fail as a region of farm settlement. Apart from introducing a small body of settlers on to the

59. *Ibid.*, 21.
60. "Slavic Groups in Canada" (*Ukrainian Free Academy of Sciences*, Winnipeg, 1951), 27.
61. Anson Township Rolls, 1948.

Shield the main effects of policy during this period was to produce a pattern or orientation of farm settlement which is visible in present-day distributions. Inaccessibility and speculation in lands, together with restrictions imposed because of earlier abuses in the granting of lands, had retarded settlement on to the Shield. But despite the devices of free grant lands, colonization roads, advertisement and land companies, settlement was confronted with two significant facts which were overwhelming in their impact. The first of these was the natural environment itself:

> The new townships between the Ottawa and Lake Huron contain much good land . . . but separated from [the Front] by a rocky barrier. . . . Moreover the good land in these townships is composed of small tracts, here and there, separated from each other by rocky ridges, swamps and lakes, which render difficult the construction of roads and interrupt the continuity of settlement. These unfavourable circumstances have induced the better class of settlers in Upper Canada to seek, at the hands of private owners, for lands of better quality and more desirable location, though the price and terms of sale are more onerous than the Lands of the Crown.[62]

This statement, made in 1863 with reference to specific Crown lands offered for sale at that time, accurately describes the natural difficulties common to the whole region—in the Free Grant Districts, in the Company lands, and almost everywhere else in the Precambrian area.[63] There had evidently been need of active encouragement and persuasion.

Another explanation for the relative failure of settlement in the Huron-Ottawa Tract was that of timing. At the very moment that the Free Grant Districts were being opened, other areas and other countries were beckoning to settlers. That this was a period of competition for immigrants was demonstrated when the federal Minister of Agriculture established emigration agents at Chicago to attract Scandinavians into Canada and at Worcester, Massachusetts, to encourage the return of Canadians who had moved into the United States.

While it was only gradually that the incompatibility of the "new townships" for agricultural settlement was recognized, the drawbacks of some of the areas was not long in being noticed. Three years after the Muskoka District had been thrown open by the Free Grants and Homesteads Act of 1868, the Commissioner of Crown Lands recommended that lands remaining unsold and unlocated in the districts be offered for sale as timber limits in berths not exceeding twenty square miles.[64] And this was repeated over most of the Shield. Awareness of the limited interest in settlement and of the misuse of the forest wealth led in 1893 to the withdrawal from sale and settlement of Algonquin Park, a region surveyed only eight years earlier. A time-honoured programme of complete alienation regardless of whether settlement was or was not forthcoming had met its first real check.

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62. Innis & Lower, *op. cit.*, 527.
63. For example, in seven townships "laid out in the most desirable sections" on the north shore of Lake Huron and offered to settlers at 20c per acre, the average annual sales over a ten-year period (to 1872) were 498 acres and much of this had been abandoned. Ontario. Sessional Papers, *op. cit.*, 253.
64. *Ibid.*, 251.

For a full century the attitude of successive administrations towards settlement was reflected in a policy of speedy alienation of lands to encourage their occupancy. The transfer of lands from the Crown into the hands of private persons was effected through the medium of a system of free grants and later by means of fairly lenient sales policies. In addition, special funds for the benefit of government and clergy were also secured for a time from the proceeds of reserved lands. For the first fifty years the lands within the surveyed areas were reasonably adapted to farm settlement. During this period administrative controls and attitudes, as reflected in generosity and laxity and seen in the peculiar status of the Reserves, constituted the main brake upon settlement.

Then followed a period, from 1825 to 1850, during which population increased greatly but the availability of good land diminished to a point that necessitated the adoption of new attitudes and the enforcement of new controls upon land granting. Finally, during the thirty years after 1850 vast areas were surveyed and made available for settlement, but the experience of land administration derived from the southern portion of the province had produced controls which tended doubly to discourage movement into the new sections. In a region that was remote, relatively inaccessible and poorly suited to farming, administrative policy had evolved to a point where Crown lands now had to be purchased. Consequently the original settlement policy, born of a situation marked by vast areas and few people, was reintroduced, and various other aids to settlement such as colonization roads were invoked, for the purpose of encouraging settlement of the Shield. But it was all to no avail. Such was the physical nature of the Ottawa-Huron Tract that even this policy proved untenable. Finally, then, another reversal of attitude ensued and large areas were withdrawn from settlement. Time and geography had made their impress on land policy in Ontario.

OUR CONTRIBUTORS

Three of our authors are in the Canadian government service, Douglas J. Wurtele, a graduate of the University of London, being on the staff of the Manuscripts Division, Public Archives of Canada, in Ottawa. Ottawa is also the home of J. Mackay Hitsman, a member of the Canadian Army Historical Section and a frequent contributor to these pages. J. Howard Richards, Assistant Professor of Geography at the Royal Military College, Kingston, is an honour graduate of the University of Wales and an M.A. and Ph.D. of the University of Toronto.

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COURTLAND MACLEAN STRANGE, 1867-1958

Lieutenant-Colonel Courtland MacLean Strange, president of the Kingston Historical Society, died suddenly on May 13th, 1958, in his ninety-first year. An executive member since 1932, Colonel Strange was president of the Society from 1941 to the time of his death.

The son of Dr. Orlando S. Strange and Ann Emily MacLean, he was educated in Kingston, entered business, and in 1894 joined the Montreal firm of Lewis Brothers, wholesale hardware merchants. He commanded the Westmount Rifles during the First World War and retained his command until 1932 when he returned to Kingston.

Colonel Strange helped to reorganize the Kingston Historical Society in the year of his return to that city. Through his efforts the Martello tower (Murney's Tower) in Macdonald Park was refitted as a historical museum. In 1936, in association with Major-General W. B. Anderson, he directed the attention of the Ontario government to the neglected condition of Fort Henry with the happy result that the government undertook to rehabilitate Fort Henry as a historic site and museum, a task accomplished with striking success. Colonel Strange contributed many items of historical interest to the Fort out of his own extensive collection. In addition he was active in forming and furthering the activities of the Kingston Drama Group.

The death of Colonel Strange deprives Kingston of one of her foremost citizens and the Kingston Historical Society of its oldest and most active member.

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AN ARTIST INSPECTS UPPER CANADA: THE DIARY OF DANIEL FOWLER, 1843

Introduction by Thomas R. Lee

In 1843 Daniel Fowler, an Englishman of 33 who had won some success as a drawing master, with near-royalty among his pupils, decided to emigrate to Canada and become a farmer for reasons of his health. Early during his search for a suitable piece of property he was favourably taken with Amherst Island, the locale of "Hopper's" referred to in the pages that follow. But before making his decision Fowler undertook an inspection tour of the western parts of the Province of Canada, particularly the sections around Toronto, Niagara and London. It is the impressions of this fortnight's trip, set down in Fowler's neat, detailed diary, that are reproduced here in print for the first time. The descriptions are of particular interest because Fowler's trained eye permitted him to discern aesthetic qualities in the country that eluded more prosaic visitors and intending settlers.

As the diary implies, Fowler's choice successfully met the challenge of the other localities, and in due course he settled on Amherst Island with his wife and three young children, putting aside pencil, pen and brush for fourteen years to work his living from the soil. In 1857 when he returned to England for a visit he took along a small pencil sketch that would convey to his mother an impression of his Amherst farm home. That hasty sketch marked the turning-point in his career, for it reawakened in a physically-restored Fowler his first love—painting.

During the next 37 years Fowler became one of the foremost painters of his day. His subjects were landscapes, chiefly trees, painted on or near his farm, but a request from a neighbour to portray an owl he had shot led Fowler into the area in which he is particularly famed—still life, especially flowers and dead game. His work was first exhibited at the Provincial Exhibition (which later became the Canadian National Exhibition, Toronto) held at Kingston in 1863. He was represented in every Provincial to 1875, in every exhibition of the Ontario Society of Artists from the first in 1872 to that of 1894, and in every exhibition of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts between 1880 (the first) and 1893. He also participated in exhibitions of the Art Association of Montreal and certain international exhibitions. He was the second elected member of the Ontario Society of Artists in 1872 and one of the eighteen charter members of the Royal Canadian Academy of Arts and a member of its council for several years. He was considered for the first president of the Academy, but his shy, retiring, almost reclusive nature would undoubtedly have led him to decline such an honour.

Fowler regarded as the highlight of his career his winning a medal and diploma for "artistic excellence" at the great International Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia in 1876, when artists from all over the world competed. Fowler, with what is probably his most famous painting, *Hollyhocks,*[1] won the sole fine arts award to come to Canada and one of only twelve medals awarded to artists the world over. He also received a diploma and medal at the Indian and Colonial Exhibition in London, 1886, and fourteen of his watercolours were accepted for exhibition at the World's Fair at Chicago in 1893. He died September 14, 1894 as the result of a fall down the stairs of his home. "There is a brilliancy about his painting that rivals the best English water-colours of his day", comments Albert H. Robson in his *Canadian Landscape Painters*, "His exquisite colour, splendid drawing and simple direct handling distinguish Fowler as one of the conspicuous and important painters of his time in Canada."[2]

Besides winning prizes Fowler's paintings were popular with the relatively few purchasers of art of that day and age. Art dealers of the time "quarrelled over them like dogs over a bone", according to Robert F. Gagen, a contemporary of Fowler and long-time secretary of the Ontario Society of Artists. Fowlers rarely come to market these days.

Gagen recalls Daniel Fowler as a man of small stature "with delicate, sharp features and high voice, great refinement of manner, and dressed with great neatness—quite remarkable for one who had roughed it as a pioneer for so many years." He wore a skull cap and a distinguished, flowing white beard, and his keenness of mind is evidenced by a remarkable autobiography which he committed to paper in his eighty-fourth year and which the present writer is preparing for publication. Hector Charlesworth, who met Fowler about a year before his death, termed him "one of the great colourists of his time, in any medium . . . the recognized *doyen* of Canadian painting for though he was English by birth, he was in the fullest sense a Canadian who owed his inspiration to his Canadian surroundings."[3]

Fowler is buried on Amherst Island. His beloved home, The Cedars, is still as attractive as ever, kept that way by the present occupants, two granddaughters—Edna L. Fowler, and Mrs. Florence A. Howard. And Amherst, an island of farms, remains the quiet thing of beauty that Fowler found it 115 years ago and portrayed for generations to come.

11th. June. Arrived at Toronto from Kingston by steamer "City of Toronto" wh. is most excellent in all her arrangements. Disabled one

1. Now in the National Gallery of Canada, Ottawa, along with several other of Fowler's water colours, including two still lifes of dead game. (*Encyclopedia Canadiana* (Toronto: Grolier Society of Canada. 1958), V, 244).
2. Robson, A. H. *Canadian Landscape Painters* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1932), 36, 38.
3. Charlesworth, H. "Autobiography of a Canadian Painter" (*Queen's Quarterly,* XLV (1), Spring 1938), 88.

Paddle—consequently 21 hours. Coburg apparently a pretty good place & pretty country. Port Hope small but very pretty. Both hilly & wooded.

Toronto apparently a good, thriving Town but with very bad streets or headways & foot pavement. Walked some 2 miles up Yonge Street—well pleased, good food & footpath. Met Dr. Rutherford & friends—Mr. Bell—his opn. favorable to the West and not coincident with that of Mr. Ratcliffe—especially calling into question the entire want of a market for produce. He recommends taking the route to Wakingham, via Hamilton & Brandford—McAdamised road nearly to Brandford—the rest pretty good. Or steamer from Buffalo calling at different forts. Mr. B. says good improved farms may be had at a moderate distance from the towns at £5 per acre. Tea at Mrs. Rutherfords—nothing remarkable except a very indifferent representation over the chimney piece of a widow weeping over a tomb—said Mrs. R. being a widow. A fire burning. Several nursery & seedsmen.

12th Applied to the different agents about improved farms for sale. Hired a light wagon with a pair of horses, and man to drive, for the day for 3 dollars. Drove out upon Yonge St. for 10 miles—the road really McAdamised and excellent for more than that distance. Tolls not excessive. Visited first Capt. Brooks' farm, 5 miles from the city and fronting on the road. With everything else agst. it, and 60 acres cleared out of 100, a miserably poor affair altogether, he asked £750. Next, to Mr. Rochfords, about 1 mile from the street, and 7 from the city. An attractive place, pretty, and greatly improved, with a good gentlemanly house; but dilapidated and out of order. A new saw mill upon it. 100 acres cleared out of 200. £1600 asked. An adjoining lot of 100 acres, with about ½ cleared, no house and no recommendation, £450 asked. Next, to Capt. Duvin's. Apparently an excellent farm of 200 acres, 110 cleared, 10 miles from the city and on the street, but unattractive both as to house & otherwise £1750. Talked of another, his brother's, 100 acres cleared, 11 miles & 1¼ miles back, no house, £800. The country thus far is called very "handsome" in the neighbourhood, but to my eyes has nothing attractive about it. No doubt the road is very good, an extraordinary advantage in Canada, and the land is probably good, tho' certainly not throughout, as partly it is little else than "Pine barrens". On the whole I saw nothing that cd. compete in desirability with Hopper's in my eyes. The neighbourhood of a fine thriving town like Toronto probably adds greatly to the intrinsic value of land, as, within its present limits, it has risen extraordinarily. The Town appears to be a thoroughly sterling one, tho' not beautiful, and the shops are equal to any praise. Stone's Hotel was full. The North American is tolerable. The fare by steam boat from Kingston, including excellent breakfast & lunch, 5 dollars.

Lunched at a tavern on Yonge St. extremely well; 1/- apiece. In returning, turned out of the road to view a 100 acre lot, 70 cleared, with moderate frame house (as described) Is No. 14, 2nd Co. of York. Turned off Yonge St. at 6 miles from Toronto, 2 or 3 miles of horrible road, but the farm is accessible another way, by about 5 miles of bush road, of a better character. Getting dusk, and too late to reach it, but the land thro wh. we passed appeared of first rate quality; the clearings were good and the crops looked extremely well. All hard wood & no pines, and the woods very beautiful. A short piece of genuine "corduroy" across a swamp. For this lot £600 is asked. The clearings did not look attractive; felt doubtful about going again to look at it. In the course of this day's

trip there wd. be some beautiful scenery, here & there, & anything but flat, were it not for the dismal appearance of the clearings and buildings—raw & unsightly. Almost everything in bad taste. Reached home very tired at ½ past 9.

13th. Determined to leave Toronto that morning but misinformed at the Hotel about the steam boat for Queenston. Consequently dawdling about 'til the aftn. Meat from 1 to 3½ a lb according to circes—Bread 6/- the gm. apparently much the same as at Kingston. Heard of another farm 12½ miles along Yonge St. & 2½ back (15). About 100 cleared out of 200. Log house & log barn. Land represented by tavern keeper to be good. Probably £1000. Spoken at as cheap. Belonging to a Dutchman implicated in the Rebellion and discontented, and wishing to cross the border. Charge at the N.A. Hotel 1 dollar a day, bed & 4 meals & no fees except porter.

A charming voyage ride to Drummondville on the brink of the Falls. The former by steamer (deck passage 3/9) the latter by horse railroad from Queenston (3 York shillings). The River at Queenston extremely beautiful & grand and the country in the rear most attractive in appearance. Said to be had for 8 or £10 an acre. Wandering about the Falls by moonlight 'til past 11.

14th. Up and about the Falls again before 6. A most beautiful and favorable morning. People generally dismiss the Falls with saying they are indescribable—that you will be disappointed at first—and say nothing about the scenery. For my own part, I had been led to expect but little beyond astonishing magnitude and to be not overpoweringly delighted. The truth is that besides sublimity & beauty in the Falls themselves—past all description truly eno'—the whole surrounding scenery is exquisitely charming where it is not magnificently grand. I can only say—so far as words will go, that all that I had ever seen or heard or read—felt, thought or dreamt—all that Italy or Switzerland has to produce of what is sublime in wonder or fascinating in beauty—all this can but ill compare with this amazing spectacle.

Determined to go down the British Staircase and pass under the Fall. Accordingly stripped to the skin and changed every article of our dresses from head to foot. Put on woollen shirt, stockings & drawers—shoes trousers & a hideous oil skin wrapper with a hood over all. Descended the staircase some half way down to the level at the cauldron where a sort of path has been scooped out of the side of the rock, and a rope attached to the rock, for the last part of the distance.

The tremendous sheet of water is thrown forward over a ledge of rock and it is possible to pass in behind it to the distance (they say) at 260 feet. Reg did so after 2 or 3 attempts, but for my own part I found myself blinded with the thick volumes of spray, deafened with the dreadful turmoil, half suffocated, and in that condition traversing a dark slippery & precarious path. Obliged to move backwards to keep my breath at all, with the rope to hold on by, it is true, when a false step might have consigned you to instant and utter destruction. So, thoroughly wetted to the skin, every thread, I was contented with a very moderate proportion of a feat wh. has nothing that I can see to repay you, as anything but a Hercules must be incapacitated from seeing, hearing & thinking. The descent and the view of the cauldron is not near so fine as I

expected and it is certainly not worth while to do more than descend the stairway wh. may be done in your ordinary dress. The charge for dress, guide & all is 5/- apiece. Visited Mr. Ratcliffe and drove with him to the whirlpool. This is an extraordinary basin, hemmed in by lofty rocks, beautifully feathered with trees, into wh. the river is poured 4 miles below the Falls thro a narrow gorge. Here the water boils up, and round & round, 'til it finds its way out thro a narrow passage. It is received in another basin whence it is forced in two currents into another gorge and such is the force that the water is piled up 10 feet higher in the centre than at the sides. The place richly repays the visit and the spot from wh. the best view is obtained, & the descent made, is extremely beautiful. A man whom we met on the spot and known to Mr. R. declares that persons going over the Falls is absolutely not an uncommon occurrence and that he has seen 7 bodies at once in the whirlpool, where they make the circuit at the basin, regularly once in ½ an hour. The chief feeder of this mortality has been soldiers deserting, and attempting to swim across, a very common attempt. The whole neighbourhood at Drummondville, apart from the Falls, is far away the most attractive country I have yet seen in Canada, and even from an Englishman, fresh from home, must meet with admiration. It is a pretty good, neat, little town, and appears to afford requisites of every description, at quite as cheap a rate as any that I have yet heard of. House rent not cheap even now that the military have been removed. Land said to be worth from 7.10 to £10 an acre all improved, inclining from sand to heavy clay. Mr. Ratcliffe himself evidently one of those numerous gentry who have injured themselves by farming, and another parcel of land being at present a bad investment. At the same time I hear everywhere a confirmation of a moderate farm being well worth the while of a man with a family. A freedom from Grundyism at Drummondville quite as complete as elsewhere. Fell in with the Episcopal Clergyman driving his own team, with lime for his farm. Not sure that I saw anything more desirable than Hoppers'.

15th. Got a cursory view of a place that might suit us very well. 135 acres. Talk of 3000 dollars—probably 2000. Crossed the ferry to the American side. A very extraordinary ferry—in a little cockle-shell of a boat, loaded with 11 persons and her bows full of luggage, we pulled up to stem the torrent absolutely under the American Fall wh. from this spot is finer than the Horse-Shoe Fall, from under Table Rock. The whole American side extremely beautiful, and some points of view nearly equal to the Table Rock, and description can go no farther. The Falls of Niagara are no criterion it is true, but I am from day to day more and more disabused of my prejudice agst. Canada as "a hideous country". There are beautifully wooded spots, and the forest itself, wh. abounds everywhere, is by no means unsightly, but I think extremely beautiful, nor does it "cut up" half so raw as it said, as there is always an undergrowth of young trees, and the stems throw out lower branches as soon as ever the light is let in upon them. The woods are capable of being made equal, if not superior, as I incline to think, to any ornamental plantation in the old world. To Buffalo by railway, fare ½ a dollar; all conducted. Buffalo an extraordinary place. 25 years ago it had hardly a name. Now it is a most creditable "city" and the Captn of the steamboat, by wh. we are making our way to Port Stanley in the west, assured me that he has

seen 100 sail base the port at once. That there belong to it not less than 30 or 40 steamers 15 of wh. of the first class, are on one line to Chicago in Lake Michigan in the far west. Fare from Buffalo to Port Stanley 4 dollars.

16th. On Lake Erie. The Ports very small—the shore not opened up, as it now hardly is, and but little to be seen. Reg. gone ashore at Port Rowan to find out W. Pope. Reached Port Stanley at 10 p.m. Rather a pretty spot. Wagon to St. Thomas 1½ dollars, 10 miles—horrible road, but to be planked. The scenery here and there fine and some beautiful patches of forest, but the utterly tasteless character of the "improvements" and the hideous, poverty-struck looking buildings make the country altogether utterly unattractive. St. Thomas itself one of your new, raw, hideous places. Dined there. Wagon to Kilworth 3 dollars, nearly 20 miles. North St. leading towards London exhibiting fair land with highly improved farms, but just as unattractive as ever. N.B. I use the word "unattractive" to describe my own feeling, without condemning more strongly on so slight acquaintance. The road from St. Thomas to London also to be planked. Passed Westminster and reached Kilworth. The land becomes sandy and indifferent and therefore the scenery improved. Kilworth a very prettily situated little village. The small taverns here & elsewhere tolerably comfortable.

17th. To Lobo House to breakfast. The place very beautiful. Sandy plains & oak timber just like the woodland scenery of England. Mr. & Mrs. Garnet & their children—an uncomfortable, poverty-struck impression. Table very ill provided—ham & bacon—bacon & ham. "No fresh meat throughout the winter." Farm on shares. Prices very low and uncertain sale for cash. Long conversation with Mrs. Garnet—not especially satisfactory as to climactic matters. Mr. G. apparently fast deteriorating under the influence of labor. Wagon to Adelaide. The road an ingenious torture—Corduroy broken into holes & mud holes 18 miles, 5 or 6 hours—rather hot. The country just as unattractive as ever. Reached the house of Pat. Mee late. Adelaide, after all that has been said & read about it, a kind of pilgrimage & Pat. Mee a hero of romance. By the way a thousand little circes to prove the truth of the "Authentic Letters".[4] Adelaide like other back settlements, but the road to be planked all the way thro to Port Sarnia, probably a vast improvement. The R's said to have been cheated on all hands. Col. R's place a satisfactory proof of the possibility of having trees, so constantly denied. The settlement must have had every possible difficulty to contend agst., nor is even the land first rate—heavy clay—heartbreaking for a time, if not for ever. At R's place.

Back to Lobo—detestable travelling. Mrs. Garnet's brother purchased on Yonge St., 10 or 11 miles from Toronto and 1½ back, a farm of 100 acres about 65 improved, with buildings, for £625—considered a great bargain.

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4. Colonel Thomas Radcliff (1794-1841) was a veteran of the Napoleonic Wars who settled at Adelaide near London in 1832, commanded a body of militia during the Rebellion of 1837 and was appointed to the Legislative Council of Upper Canada in 1839. Three of his letters descriptive of conditions at Adelaide were included in a volume entitled "Authentic Letters from Upper Canada", published in Dublin in 1833 by his father, the Reverend Thomas Radcliff. The Collection (including an Introduction by J. J. Talman) was reissued by The Macmillan Company of Canada, Toronto, in 1953.

18th. Dined & slept at Lobo.

19th. Wagon to London & to Oxford. London literally dug out of the woods—stumps up to the back doors. A hideous new raw place. Roads rather better—very hot. Country mostly sandy but improving towards Oxford. Oxford good in appearance. Ingersoll a pretty good village. Came late to Mr. Rothwell's.

20th. Remained at Mr. R's. Mr. R. an Irish clergyman. He & Mrs. R. both of good family—gentlemanly & ladylike. Came out in '34—went upon wild land except about 4 acres cleared, with a small log house. Lived in it for more than a year. For more than 3 months Mrs. R. was totally without female servants—her family consisted of herself, her husband, her brother, one little child, 2 workmen & a boy. There was but one room habitable and as they sat in it they c'd see their horses' tails in another portion of the building across a passage. The men dined at the same table after them, and in the same room the first 4 slept. In this log house Mrs. R. was afterwards confined. They have now cleared and slashed an immense hole in the woods, probably not under 800 acres. They have built a most excellent frame house, and have made a large garden. Some of the ground is almost free from stumps and they are fast coming out. On land, cleared 7 or 8 years, they have had one crop of wheat and 2 of oats, so that it is possible to till "stumpy" ground. The stumps here may average 7 years in coming out. Mr. R. keeps 5 workmen to 2 of whom he pays £30 a year and boards them all. He has large quantities of cattle, sheep & goats, and buys neither meat nor bread. He does not pretend that it has paid him yet, but meanwhile he looks "ahead" and is making a fine place for his eldest son. Mrs. R. an admirable manager, keeps only 2 young girls and her house is perfectly well-ordered in every respect—can entertain the Bishop and parties of the clergy creditably. Makes her own candles, soap & sugar—cloth, flannel, feather beds, quilts & down coverlids. Has had maple sugar perfectly approved by a West Indian. Has her 5 children always neat and is determined to maintain her station with odds agst. her. All this I see and have from herself so in future I shall swear by her.

21st. Mr. Radcliffe very ill—horrid pain from spasms in the stomach. One of the girls sent away on errands—house deranged & came upon Mrs. R. washing glasses—goodhumored explanation. Extremely hot—say many hours with Radcliffe. Dr. Reynolds. Mrs. R's acct'd the R's. Long walk with Mrs. R. Conversation. My own prejudices on the score of trees. Mr. R's place apparently made without the slightest view to ultimate effect, and this too with abundant means and abundant opportunity. Am continually seeing partial clearings that have become beautiful spots, made to your hand, such as it wd. require 100 years to make when all the trees are destroyed.

22nd. Remaining on Radcliffe's account. Mr. & Mrs. R. very favorable opinion of the climate. Mrs. R. says that the winter is delightful. Drove out. Oxford a well-looking highly improved well-settled country. Wild land from 4 to 7 or 8 dollars an acre. Go where I will hitherto, a strong general impression of the poverty and discomfort of gentlemen farming settlers.

23rd. Mrs. Rothwell tells me that in 9 years, with a large family of children & servants, on newly cleared ground, she has seen nothing of

Ague. Mr. R. confirms the extreme dryness attributed to the air. Driven by Mr. R. in the ev'g to Woodstock. A thriving place and well settled but as usual not particularly attractive.

24th. Stage to Hamilton. This "leathern convenience" a great rumbling, dusty, dirty, uncomfortable affair; pitching & rolling like a boat in a sea. The country about Paris and Brandford, and between those places, very beautiful, as the plains always are, and, apparently, extremely well-settled. On the Grand River. A capital Mcadamised road for 15 miles from Hamilton thro Ancaster. Hamilton and Ancaster, particularly, seem to be all that the most fastidious need desire in the way of scenery & improvement. In the course of this day's journey observed particularly the "Plains" farms. In point of attraction they greatly excell the heavier lands, consisting of scattered oak timber, wh. is usually left in considerable abundance and a pretty place costs but little trouble. The crops look well but the land is sandy and said to be liable to exhaustion. Having now again reached Lake Ontario, having pretty well seen the upper country from end to end; having learned all I cd. and used all the observation I cd—the conclusion to wh. I come, is that there are settlements greatly superior to Amherst Island in point of importance; yet I have not seen anything that has removed the favorable impression of Hopper's that I carried along with me either as to cheapness or desirability. I am disposed to think that the extraordinary fertility of the west has been exaggerated, nor is it by any means universal as is represented. On the whole I feel a determination to give the Island [Amherst] what it appears to me to deserve, a fair trial & comparison.

A REMINDER TO OUR READERS

This issue concludes Volume 50 of *Ontario History,* and thus is an important milestone for a series that has contributed not a little to historical scholarship since its inception in 1899. It is our earnest hope that the future will enable this Journal to play an even greater part in guiding and publishing historical studies and in aiding the work of Ontario's local historical associations and of the Ontario Historical Society.

Readers are reminded that current memberships in the Society, including subscriptions to *Ontario History,* expire at the end of this year, and they are urged to remit their fees for 1959 to the Secretary-Treasurer without delay. Every member has it within his power to help the Society and *Ontario History* do better jobs in 1959 by enrolling one or more friends as members for the coming year. If the present year's success in winning new members can be repeated and a paid-up membership of 1,000 achieved for 1959, a most auspicious beginning will have been made to our second fifty volumes.

We take this opportunity to extend best wishes and greetings of the season to all our readers. THE EDITOR.

SHARON TEMPLE AND THE CHILDREN OF PEACE

By Miss Hilary Spooner

The vicinity of Newmarket is chiefly settled by Quakers, known variously as "orthodox", "heterodox" and "Hicksite" Quakers. Besides these there are the "DAVIDITES!" whose views are a queer mixture of Deism, Quakerism and Universalism. At Sharon they have two temples; the greater is a gorgeous, ill-shapen edifice, adorned with a cupola and a variety of ornaments *in tin*. In this strange rites are celebrated on the recurrence of certain festivals. They take their name from old David Wilson, now deceased, and to whom posterity will most likely assign a place in the list of deluded fanatics. . . . [1]

Truly this is a land of marvels. This seems to be an age of extravagence and fanaticism, & this country one of those which abounds with delusion. The infatuated ravings of the monomaniac are taken for the dictates of inspiration . . . the unsubstantial phantoms of bewildered fancy are regarded as heavenly visions . . . and the blinded zeal of ignorant and foolish men held in utmost veneration.[2]

Both quotations were inspired by the small religious sect known as the Children of Peace who in 1812 formed a separate community at Sharon, Upper Canada, under the inspiration and leadership of David Willson. That such a group could flourish in so ordinarily staid a country as Canada for even a short space of time, let alone the greater part of a century, seems difficult to realize. For even at this distance the Children of Peace appear to have been a highly unusual and eccentric group. And certainly they were not viewed with favour by outsiders, as the preceding extracts show; indeed most contemporary accounts agree in treating the sect as a gathering of mentally backward and deluded individuals.

Yet were the Children of Peace so strange in an America where Joseph Smith of Manchester, New York, was receiving the revelations which became the Book of Mormon, or in which Robert Owen was soon to undertake his famous social experiment at New Harmony, Indiana? The religious history of pioneer America is characterized by the emergence of scores of splinter sects which, responding to some basic inner need, some fundamental element of Protestant individualism, divorced themselves from their parent Churches. In the United States one has only to think of the Hutterite Brethren, the Shakers, the Plymouth Brethren, the Primitive Baptists, as examples. Most splinter sects were the product of variations from the accepted doctrine or worship of well-established larger denominations. Many were characterized by a moving away from the world, a specially devised form of worship, and some by a distinctive social structure verging towards communal living and the sharing of property. Invariably they originated with a leader who claimed the in-

1. [Croil, James]. *A Historical and Statistical Report of the Presbyterian Church of Canada in connection with the Church of Scotland for the year 1866* (Montreal, 1868), 45.

2. Fraser, William. "Diary of William Fraser, August 1834–July 1835" (in London and Middlesex Historical Society, *Transactions, Part XIV*. London, Ontario, 1930), 116.

spiration of a vision or some other form of divine guidance as authority for his divergence and departure from the parent religion. When viewed in this perspective the Children of Peace do not seem quite so unique but instead appear merely part of the Protestant tradition of religious freedom and an authentic manifestation of the development of Protestantism in early Upper Canada.

To understand the Children of Peace it is necessary to examine the career and character of David Willson, for with him the sect began and upon his death in effect it came to an end. Little is known of Willson's early life, and he himself says little except that he was born "in the year 1778, of poor but pious Presbyterian parents, whose fortune in life left me far below the means of common school learning".[3] In 1801 with his wife and two small sons he emigrated to Upper Canada from his home in Dutchess County, New York, and settled on lands in the Township of Gwillimbury near the town of Sharon. He joined the Society of Friends and became one of the leading members of the Queen Street Preparative Meeting in York. His name occurs in the Meeting records for 1806 and he was the donor of the land for the Meeting House. In 1810 he served on a committee appointed by the Canadian Half Year Meeting to consider whether Friends, consistent with their views on war and a free gospel ministry, could receive from the government lands which were granted for actual service in war or for assisting therein, or lease Clergy Reserve lands. The deliberations acted as an impetus to Willson's own thinking and to doubts about the beliefs of the Society of Friends; and by 1811, as a result of his indecision and of a crisis in his own religious life, he left the Society of Friends to set up his own sect, the Children of Peace.

In his book, *The Practical Life of the Author* (1860) Willson explains at length his departure from the Quakers and his reasons for taking this step. He says,

> I had become a member of a religious body of people called Friends or Quakers and was in good esteem or high standing for one of my abilities; but when I began to speak to them from the proceeds of my inward grace, I was excommunicated from them as unworthy of the privilege and esteem I had once enjoyed, and the whole body, save four or five, turned against me, and I was cast out from the care of society into the open world, to loathe the excommunication they had placed upon me: . . .[4]
>
> I refused controversy, fled from argument and was again alone in the world. Through confidence in my integrity of purpose, four or five brothers and sisters did forsake the Society of Friends (so called) and joined themselves with me. . . . We instituted a form of worship with our number being six, and no more in the beginning of the system, which until now we did strictly attend . . . My own small cot became our house of worship: I continued utterance. Our members increased; censurers did abound; scoffing was without limitation; the religious and profane both joined in one song, and we be-

3. Willson, David. *The Practical Life of the Author from the Year 1801 to 1860* (Newmarket, Canada West, 1860), 14.
4. *Ibid.*, 17.

came the sport of all that passed us by. . . . We were numbered with the incurables, and forsaken by every kind and class of people. . . .

In this condition of life have I continued in the little village of Sharon, which is now a resting-place for all kinds of people.[5]

The "proceeds of my inward grace", which David Willson mentions as the cause for his withdrawal from the Society of Friends, probably were the insights he gained from a series of visions which appeared to him, so he says, in 1811 and 1812. These are not elaborated on or explained, but apparently they signified to Willson that the Church of God was in need of a new reform, that the present Christian church was not fulfilling God's purpose as revealed in the Bible, and that he, David Willson, was called of God to reform it and make it pure:

Then appeared unto me the following vision from the Lord:—And the first that I saw was a stream of pure water descending from the east; pure water is the signification of clear grace from the Lord, and as it was from the east it is an expression of ancient wisdom being restored to the world, and the naked infant walking therein implies walking back to ancient simplicity,—when the heart of man had a communication with God; and being naked implies a new born soul that is born of the Lord, and has no help but God alone,—and being naked has a signification of putting off the old man with his deeds and is prepared to receive a new garment from the Lord. And this child is the offspring of the Church or mother above described to the world. And the end of the vision is a plain expression of being at peace with God; and wearing the white raiment, which is "the righteousness of saints;" and the still water denotes the sea of glass which is before the throne of God, as related by John the revelator of that which is to come: and as this is the end of a Church that is established by the grace of God, there is no temptation in the world that can tempt such a mind or people to remove from that which they have known and received, and continue therein for ever.[6]

A. G. Dorland, commenting on the religious views of David Willson, observes that "At most his religious ideas were a confused hodge-podge of Quaker mysticism and Jewish ceremonialism of which the ancient Temple worship was made the central feature."[7] He felt strongly that the gulf between Christian and Jew was an artificial and mistaken one, which it was his mission to bridge by showing how each was related to the other. As far as it is possible to find a clear statement of his beliefs, the following might be said to explain Willson's views on this subject:

Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob saw the apostolic age, as bright and glorious as it ever will be seen: for they lived by faith, and brought forth fruits of the spirit of God. The new testament was only written for this dark age, that God foresaw would come on the world. And the old Testament to restore Israel to the spirit of their fathers; and the new Testament to restore the world [of] Christians to the Apostolic faith, and then their great mission and appointment of God is done; but like the sword of David or Goliah, they will be laid up in the house of the Lord forever.[8]

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5. *Ibid.,* 9-10.
6. *Ibid.,* 19-20.
7. Dorland, A. G. *A History of the Society of Friends (Quakers) in Canada* (Toronto, 1927), 106.
8. Willson, David. *The Impressions of the Mind to which are added some Remarks on Church and State Discipline and The Acting Principles of Life* (Toronto, 1835), 7.

The Children of Peace followed no creed or written dogma. They placed a strong emphasis upon the brotherhood of man and still held to the Quaker theory of self-illumination, although this was applied in a somewhat distorted fashion and became antagonism towards learned ministers and Christians who did not rely solely on an inward light for their understanding of Christianity. Although one would like to attribute David Willson's secession from the Society to the series of visions that he received, it is more likely that a major reason for his withdrawal lay in his dissatisfaction with the colourlessness and quietness of the Society of Friends. Certainly there was very little of the Quaker spirit of calm, quiet and silence in the services conducted later at the Temple at Sharon.

While the Friends were opposed to music of any sort, either at services or in the home, at Sharon it was an integral part of the religious services and of the regular life of the community. The Sharon Brass Band and choir were organized in 1820, and both were in regular attendance at the Temple. They also gave concerts in Sharon and often travelled with the Children of Peace when they held public meetings in Newmarket and downtown Toronto—which meetings, incidentally, were always announced in advance in the Newmarket *Era* and the *Colonial Advocate*. The procedure was to pass in a procession down King Street, Toronto, and then to the arranged meeting place, where Willson would preach to interested onlookers. Usually his address was concerned with public affairs, and after he had expatiated upon the faults and errors of contemporary politics the Sharon Band and choir would perform and sing.

In *Toronto of Old* Dr. Scadding remarked upon Willson's behaviour during these addresses as follows:

> Into all the points here suggested Mr. Willson would enter with great zest. When waxing warm in his discourse, he would sometimes, without interrupting the flow of his words, suddenly throw off his coat and suspend it on a nail or pin in the wall, waving about with freedom, during the residue of his oration, a pair of sturdy arms, arrayed, not indeed in the dainty lawn of a bishop, but in stout well-bleached American Factory. His address was divided into sections, between which "hymns of his own composing" were sung by a company of females dressed in white, sitting on one side, accompanied by a band of musical instruments on the other.[9]

In 1833 the Children of Peace acquired the first pipe organ to be used in Upper Canada and installed it in the Temple, where it was played at all services. It was said to have 133 pipes and two barrels which could play ten sacred tunes each when the pedals were pumped up and down, somewhat like a player piano. In charge of music for the sect was another interesting figure, an ex-bandmaster of the British Army, Richard Coates. He built the first organ, and later two others, for the Children of Peace. He was also responsible for the famed Sharon Band which continued until the late 1860's, again the first and oldest native brass band in Canada:

9. Scadding, Henry. *Toronto of Old* (Toronto, 1873), 106.

> It was not long until the band boasted four clarionets, two bazoons, two flageolets, two serpents, three trombones, and a bass drum; and each individual man was drilled with his instrument by Mr. Coates, until he had thoroughly mastered the rudiments of his part. In 1846, the County Member, Hon. Robt. Baldwin, presented them with an ophicleide.[10]

In the 1860's the simple brass band became the Sharon Silver Temperance Band, equipped with silver instruments which were purchased in New York in 1864. This was a most elaborate, professional band with special uniforms and undertaking specific engagements. It lost its religious character and became a purely secular organization; only in its name did one recognize its origin.

As early as 1815 the district around Sharon had become the stronghold of the Children of Peace. The first Temple was erected here in 1819 but by 1825 it had become too small for the needs of the rapidly-expanding sect. So that year work commenced on a new Temple—that which still stands at Sharon—a fantastic structure allegedly built according to plans confided to David Willson in another vision. It was made completely square, resting on a sixty-foot base, to symbolize the fact that the Children of Peace dealt squarely with everyone; and its three storeys represented the Trinity. "The door in the centre of each of the four sides is to let the people come in from the east and the west, the north and the south on equal and the same footing. The equal number of windows on each side of every door is to let the light of the gospel be equally the same on all the people herein assembled."[11] Above the second storey a third was built, consisting of a cupola twelve feet square, on top of which was a large gold ball inscribed with the word 'peace'. Both of these storeys were lit by numerous square-paned windows, and at the corners of each storey were large square lanterns, or turrets, with gilt mountings. The interior and exterior were painted white with green trim, which also had symbolic meaning.

The interior of the Temple was just as bizarre as the exterior. The services were held on the ground floor, which is cut into four sections by aisles leading to the four doors. An open square of twelve pillars again divides the room and the names of the twelve apostles are written on these pillars in letters of gold. Within this first square of pillars is another smaller one, made up of four pillars with the words Faith, Hope, Love and Charity upon them. Inside this second square is the most remarkable feature of the whole Temple—the ark, or altar (it is difficult to tell which). It is an unique structure with a high curved roof, tiny windows, and a small open door through which one can see a large cushion of red velvet placed in the middle of the ark. On square stands at each of the corners of the ark there used to rest little lamps of pure gold, and

10. *Saturday Night,* November 30, 1912, 31.
11. Squair, J. "The Temple of Peace, David Willson of Sharon, 1778-1866" (In Women's Canadian Historical Society of Toronto, *Transaction No. 20,* 1919-20. Toronto).

inside the ark, on a velvet cushion, was once an open Bible; but both have disappeared by now.

The Temple, however, remains, still painted white with green trim, on a slight rise in the village of Sharon at the end of a short tree-lined walk. The interior is also painted white and is made very bright and sunny by the many windows on all sides. Much of the floor space is covered with early kitchen and farm equipment that once belonged to the early settlers of the Sharon district brought here by the York Pioneer and Historical Society who now maintain the building as a Museum. There are old ploughs, buggies, frying pans, cradles, clothes, books and pictures. Stepping inside the Temple is something like walking back into the early nineteenth century. One almost expects to see David Willson himself, "a man of about 60 years of age of a heavy and solemn cast of countenance with small squinting eyes and demure carriage",[12] come walking out of one of the corners and begin preaching on the mission of the Church to the Jews.

The Temple was just as much of a curiosity in the nineteenth century as it is today, and travellers going through Upper Canada were urged not to miss visiting Sharon and seeing it for themselves. Thus E. G. O'Brien described his visit in February 1829 as follows:

> We went about two miles farther to look at an establishment of a certain religious imposter, David Wilson, who has collected about him persons enough to form a tolerably large village and persuaded them to consider him as a prophet & resign their substance into his hands & their conduct to his direction—he has built for them a whimsical place of worship for which he has an organ, teaches them to sing &c.—but I don't know exactly what to believe fa[rther] of his reported plans. The folly was not one at which I could be amused & the visit gave anything but pleasure.[13]

A little later Captain Bonnycastle described the situation in these words:

> At a short distance from Newmarket . . . is a settlement of religious enthusiasts, who have chosen the most fertile part of Upper Canada, the country near and for miles around Newmarket, for the seat of their earthly tabernacle. Here numbers of deluded people have placed themselves under the temporal and spiritual charge of a high priest, who calls himself David. His real name is David Willson. The Temple (as the building appropriated to the celebration of their rites is called,) is served by this man, who affects a primitive dress, and has a train of virgin-ministrants clothed in white. He travels about occasionally to preach at towns and villages, in a waggon, followed by others, covered with white tilt-cloths; but what his peculiar tenets are beyond that of dancing and singing, and imitating David the King, I really cannot tell, for it is altogether too farcical to last long.[14]

In imitation of the building of Solomon's Temple and somewhat after the manner of a modern prefabricated house, the Sharon Temple was put

12. Fraser, W., *op. cit.*, 117.
13. O'Brien Journals, 1828-1838 (ms., Ontario Archives), Journal No. 12, 4-5.
14. Scadding, H., *op. cit.*, 106.

together from framework which had been prepared at a distance. Again like its illustrious model, it is said to have required seven years to complete.

Almost exactly in front of the Temple David Willson's study is still preserved: another odd-looking structure, twelve feet square and almost entirely composed of glass, with twelve round columns supporting the roof which curves down low surrounding the central room. An interesting sidelight on Willson's private life is revealed by the small rocking chair, used by his wife. Apparently while he was writing his sermons, speeches, hymns and prayers she kept him company here. This is practically the only mention of Mrs. Willson, and one wonders if she was completely subdued and acquiescent to her husband. It would have been difficult to oppose David Willson; she may just have given up the struggle and resigned herself to being a shadowy figure in the background.

The regular services of the Children of Peace were held in the Meeting House, while the Temple was used only fifteen times a year. The order of service at the Meeting House was always the same, consisting of an organ voluntary, a sacred piece by the band, the reading of a chosen portion of the Bible, a hymn by the choir, prayers led by David Willson, an anthem, a sermon by David Willson, and finally a congregational hymn closed the service. Most of the hymns and prayers were also composed by David Willson for the special use of the choir. His religious poetry was not of unusual quality as a few verses from one of his hymns will suffice to demonstrate:

> Oh Lord how lonesome and how few,
> Are these that seek thy name;
> They sorrow, sigh, and travel too,
> The wandering soul to gain.
>
> They pray, to win them to thy love,
> Their heart is all sincere;
> These lead the soul to heaven above,
> These see a pathway clear. . . .
>
> Their words are lamps of endless light,
> They place their feet by day;
> They have both Heaven and hell in sight,
> And shun the dangerous way.[15]

The most important services were two feasts held in September and in June, in each case on the first Friday of the month. The September occasion was the feast of the "first Fruits", and that in June originally commemorated David Willson's birthday and later became known as the feast of the Passover. Each feast began in the afternoon in the Meeting House, where the participants were served a substantial supper by young girls to the accompaniment of the band, playing outside on the

15. Willson, D. *Impressions of the Mind,* 67.

lawn. After the meal the choir and the band led the people up to the Temple for the service. The Temple must have been an impressive sight with the gleam of 116 candles shining through the many windows out over the countryside. Two other feasts were also held in the Temple—one on Christmas morning, mainly a service of song, and the other in the summer as a memorial service for the members who had died within the preceding year.

Although the Temple and the services conducted there were the outstanding characteristic of the Children of Peace they had other claims to fame and attention as well. In the field of popular education, for example, they were pioneers, even though their leader's own views were anti-intellectual and he frequently denied that knowledge and education were necessary for salvation: "All kinds are welcome in, but there is no room for learning of a high degree. The vessel is too small to receive, and the mind is reduced below the conception of great things."[16] As early as 1818 a school for young girls—twelve years and up—was established at Sharon to train its pupils in housekeeping, sewing, dressmaking and spinning. It became a boarding school attended by many of the young women of the surrounding district and has been termed the first school of Household Science in Upper Canada. Another school in Sharon offered the rudiments of the more ordinary branches of education.

In politics David Willson held definite reformist views and openly supported William Lyon Mackenzie. Several of his followers joined in the rebellion of 1837-8 and Willson and two of his sons were arrested during this troubled time. He himself was soon released, but the sons were confined in Toronto jail for five months longer and one, John, was transferred to the prison at Kingston and held an additional seven months. The known political bias of its leader and the peculiarities of the sect at Sharon combined to make both understandable objects of suspicion at this time; moreover the country around Sharon and the Township of East Gwillimbury was long regarded as a hotbed of Radical sentiment.

The Children of Peace were supported entirely from donations by members. No outside assistance was ever required, and David Willson received no salary, only his living expenses. Any surpluses beyond what was required to keep the church in repair were distributed to poor and needy members of the community. Most Children of Peace were farmers who lived around Sharon or were tradesmen in the village. They formed a small, compact society whose life revolved around the Temple and its ritual.

When David Willson died in 1866 the Children of Peace were left without a strong leader, and gradually the sect disintegrated. Indeed, its rapid disappearance seems to verify Professor E. T. Clark's thesis that a splinter sect of this sort begins to loss its distinctive character

16. Willson, D., *The Practical Life of the Author,* 16-7.

in the second generation, for this generation rarely accepts its principles with the same enthusiasm that characterized those who joined through personal religious conviction. No leader or new prophet emerged from the ranks to take the founder's place, and by 1890 the Children of Peace had disappeared altogether.

Whether or not one sympathizes with the Children of Peace—and it is difficult to take them entirely seriously, especially after examining the tortuous writings of Willson himself—one can scarcely help but respect the strength, perseverence and singlemindedness of the founder. No starry-eyed visionary could have established and directed a community like Sharon with its schools, buildings, choir and band, and led it in contentment and harmony as David Willson did from 1811 until his death more than half a century later. He was one of the most interesting and unusual personalities that Ontario has produced, and his memorial, Sharon Temple, speaks for him more eloquently than words.

THE ARCHAEOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC SITES BOARD OF ONTARIO

The Historical Branch of the Department of Travel and Publicity, acting on the advice of the Archaeological and Historic Sites Board of Ontario, has continued an active programme of commemorating important persons, places and events throughout the province by the erection of historical plaques. During the summer and fall of 1958 a total of sixty-two plaques were erected. Official unveiling ceremonies were held for all of these with the exception of the Lake Light plaque where arrangements could not be completed until too late in the season for outdoor ceremonies. The plaques erected in 1958 are listed below. It should be noted that these brief descriptions concerning the sites are not copies of the actual inscriptions. Our issues of Vol. XLIX, Nos. 1, 2, and 4 listed the plaques previously erected.

E. Pauline Johnson 1861-1913

Commemorates the well-known Mohawk Indian poetess who was born on the Grand River Reserve near Brantford. (At her birthplace "Chiefswood" on the Grand River Reserve.)

St. Paul's 1785 H.M. Chapel of the Mohawks

The first Protestant church erected in what is now Ontario built with the aid of a grant from George III obtained through the efforts of Joseph Brant. It serves the loyal members of the Six Nations who moved to the Grand River after the American Revolution following the loss of their lands in upper New York State. (Brantford.)

Duncombe's Uprising 1837

Dr. Charles Duncombe was the leader of the "Patriots" in southwestern Ontario. He rallied a force at the village of Scotland to support

William Lyon Mackenzie in December, 1837, but it dispersed on receipt of the news of Mackenzie's defeat at Montgomery's Tavern. (Village of Scotland).

Commissariat Building 1827

The oldest existing stone building in Ottawa. It was used as a storehouse, office and treasury during the construction of the Rideau Canal by Lt. Col. John By, R.E. (Bytown Museum beside the locks at foot of Rideau Canal).

Porcupine Mining Area

Commemorates the origin and growth of the largest gold mining camp in the Western Hemisphere. (Porcupine, Whitney Township, near Timmins).

Lt. Col. Charles R. McCullough 1865-1947

Commemorates the founder of the first Canadian Club. (Library Building, Bowmanville).

Hull's Landing 1812

Describes the invasion of Essex County by a United States force commanded by Brig. General William Hull at the commencement of the War of 1812. (Riverside Drive East, Windsor).

Summerhill 1839

This structure was erected by Archdeacon George Okill Stuart and for several years was the sole building of Queen's University. (Queen's University campus, Kingston).

Militia Garrison 1837-38

Commemorates the militia of the Kingston area who manned the city's defences during the disturbances following Mackenzie's Rebellion. (Macdonald Park, Kingston).

Fraserfield

Constructed about 1812 by Alexander Fraser, this is one of the finest country residences of its day. Fraser was quartermaster of the Canadian Fencibles during the War of 1812 and later became a member of the legislative assembly and the legislative council. He was the first warden of the Eastern District. (Three miles west of Williamstown, Glengarry).

St. Andrew's Church

This church housed the province's first Presbyterian congregation which had been formed in Williamstown in 1787. (Williamstown).

Sir John Johnson's Mills

Marks the site of the mills built by Sir John Johnson about 1790 and of his manor house which still stands beside the Au Raisin River. (Williamstown).

Duncan Cameron

Commemorates one of the prominent members of the North West Company. He was in command of Fort Gibraltar on the Red River when Lord Selkirk's forces captured it in 1816. Cameron was arrested and

taken to England. Released and compensated for false arrest, he settled in Williamstown. (Williamstown).

The Bethune Thompson House

This structure was built toward the end of the 18th century by the Rev. John Bethune who founded Upper Canada's first Presbyterian congregation in 1787. It was later the residence of David Thompson, famous explorer of the Canadian west. (Williamstown).

John Sandfield Macdonald 1812-1872

Commemorates the Prime Minister of the Province of Canada 1862-64 and Ontario's first Premier 1867-71. (St. Raphael, Glengarry County).

Col. Edward Jessup 1735-1816

This prominent Loyalist raised and commanded Jessup's Rangers during the American Revolution. On land granted to him for his services to the Crown, the town of Prescott was founded. (Grounds of Fort Wellington, Prescott).

Gull River and the Clergy House

Commemorates the camping ground used by Indians who came from the south by the Balsam Lake portage and Gull River waters to hunt in the area. It also marks the Clergy House, one of Haliburton's oldest remaining buildings which was used around the turn of this century as headquarters for itinerant Anglican missionaries who ministered to the region. (Minden).

Col. William Chisholm 1788-1842

Commemorates the founder of Oakville. (Lakeside Park, Oakville).

Ontario's First Gold Mine

The first commercial gold production in the province followed a discovery made in Madoc Township in August, 1866, by Marcus Herbert Powell. (Near Eldorado, Hastings County).

Chatham Blockhouse 1794

This structure was erected by order of Simcoe to guard a small naval arsenal which he hoped would form a link in the defences of Upper Canada's western frontier and draw some of the Indian trade from Detroit. (Tecumseh Park, Chatham).

John Brown's Convention 1858

Commemorates the convention held in May, 1858, by this famous American abolitionist. It is believed that one outcome of the convention was Brown's abortive raid at Harper's Ferry, Virginia, and his subsequent arrest and execution. Although radically altered, the church in which one of the meetings was held still stands. (Grounds of First Baptist Church, Chatham).

Alexander Morris 1826-1889

A strong supporter of Confederation, member of John A. Macdonald's cabinet, and Lieutenant-Governor of Manitoba. (Perth).

Mill of Kintail and Robert Tait McKenzie

Commemorates this prominent Canadian surgeon, physical educator and sculptor and the fine stone grist-mill built in 1830 which he renovated and used as his studio 1930-38. (Mill of Kintail on the Indian River about four miles from Almonte).

Forsyth's Raid 1813

On the night of 6-7 February, 1813, Major Benjamin Forsyth of the United States army and a force of regulars and militia crossed the frozen St. Lawrence and raided Brockville. (Blockhouse Island, Brockville).

William Buell 1751-1832

Commemorates the United Empire Loyalist and veteran of the Revolutionary War who founded Brockville. (Courthouse Avenue, Brockville).

Ogle R. Gowan 1796-1876

Commemorates the founder of the Grand Orange Lodge of British America who was also a prominent newspaperman, politician and soldier. (Courthouse Square, Brockville).

Blockhouse Island

Commemorates the site where a blockhouse was built to guard Brockville harbour during the disturbances of 1837-38 and where sheds were erected during the disastrous cholera epidemic of 1832 to care for those stricken by the plague. (Blockhouse Island, Brockville).

George Chaffey 1848-1932

Commemorates this engineer and inventor who was one of the great pioneers in the field of irrigation. Chaffey, a native of Brockville, was largely responsible for the successful development of the fruit industry in Australia. (Victoria Park, Brockville).

"Pirate" Johnston 1782-1870

Describes the exploits of this Canadian-born renegade who settled in New York State and, during the disturbances of 1837-39, led many armed raids on the Canadian shore and on British shipping from his base in the Thousand Islands. (Gananoque).

Sir Gilbert Parker 1862-1932

Commemorates one of Canada's most famous novelists at the village where he was born. (Camden East, Lennox and Addington).

Napanee Mills

Commemorates the sawmill and grist-mill built in the 1780's which formed the nucleus of that community. (Springside Park, Napanee).

The White House 1793

One of the province's finest remaining examples of a house built by a well-to-do United Empire Loyalist which has been in the possession of the Fairfield family for six generations. (Collin's Bay, about ten miles west of Kingston on Highway No. 33).

Explorers of Muskoka and Haliburton

Commemorates the individuals who explored the area between Georgian Bay and the Ottawa River from 1819 to 1837. (Baysville, District of Muskoka).

The Muskoka Road 1858

Commemorates the "Colonization Road" which ran from the site of Washago to the site of Bracebridge. This route first opened up the Muskoka area to settlement. (Kahshe Park, on Highway No. 11 about five miles north of Washago).

McFarland House 1800

A very fine Georgian brick residence built by a United Empire Loyalist and used as a hospital by both British and American forces during the War of 1812. It is now operated as a museum by the Niagara Parks Commission. (About three miles from Niagara-on-the-Lake on the River Road to Queenston).

Campbell's Raid 1814

Relates the story of the destructive military raid made on the settlement of Dover and the surrounding area May 14, 1814, by an American force led by Lt. Col. John Campbell. (Port Dover).

The Heroine of Long Point

Commemorates Abigail Becker who saved the lives of the crew of the schooner "Conductor" which was wrecked off Long Point in November, 1854. (In the park adjacent to the cenotaph, Port Rowan).

The Wicklow Church 1824

Commemorates the oldest surviving Baptist chapel in Ontario. (Wicklow, Northumberland County).

Barnum House 1817

One of the finest remaining examples of a frame domestic Georgian structure in Ontario, it was built by Col. Eliakim Barnum who had emigrated from Vermont in 1808. (Grafton, Northumberland County).

St. Paul's Church 1834

This church is associated with the very early days of Woodstock and was financed through the efforts of Admiral Henry Vansittart and built under the direction of Captain Andrew Drew, R.N. (Woodstock).

Catharine Parr Traill 1802-1899

Commemorates this talented author who was a pioneer settler of the Otonabee region. ("Westove", Lakefield).

The Robinson Settlement 1825

Describes the government supported settlement of Irish emigrants in the Peterborough region which was superintended by the Hon. Peter Robinson. (Victoria Park, Peterborough).

Scott's Mills 1820

Commemorates the mills built by Adam Scott, the first settler on the site of Peterborough. (Water Street, Peterborough).

Court-House and Jail

These impressive structures were built 1838-40 following the establishment of the District of Colborne. (In front of the court-house, Peterborough).

Coldwater Mill 1833

This old structure which still stands was originally built to serve the Indians who, in 1830, were gathered from the surrounding area and settled on a reserve running from Atherley Narrows (Orillia) to Coldwater. (Eplett's Mill, Coldwater).

Associated Country Women of the World

Commemorates this association which was an extension of the Canadian Women's Institutes into other countries. Mrs. Alfred Watt, a native of Collingwood, was largely responsible for this action. (Maple Street, Collingwood).

The Naval Establishment

Describes the British naval base commanding the upper Great Lakes which was established at Penetanguishene following the War of 1812. (Garrison Reserve, Penetang).

The Military Establishment 1829-1856

Commemorates the military base which was established at Penetanguishene in 1829 following the withdrawal of British forces from Drummond Island in 1828. (Grounds of Officers' Quarters Museum, Garrison Reserve, Penetang).

Sir William Mulock 1843-1944

Commemorates at his birthplace this prominent statesman who was postmaster-general and minister of labour in the cabinet of Sir Wilfrid Laurier, chancellor of the University of Toronto and chief justice of Ontario. (Bond Head, Simcoe County).

Andrew Frederick Hunter 1863-1940

Commemorates one of Ontario's most respected local historians. (Grounds of Public Library, Barrie).

The Scotch Settlement 1819

Relates the story of a group of Highland emigrants originally settled on the Red River in present-day Manitoba by Lord Selkirk, but compelled by persecution from the North West Company to move to Upper Canada. (Grounds of "Auld Kirk", Concession 8, Lot 6, West Gwillimbury Township).

Captain Miles Macdonell

This native of Scotland served in the British forces during the American Revolution and later settled in Stormont. He was chosen by Lord Selkirk to superintend his Red River settlement. There he became involved in a violent struggle with the North West Company. (St. Andrews West, Stormont).

Temagami Post 1834

Relates the history of the Hudson's Bay Company's trading post on Lake Timagami. (Bear Island, Lake Timagami).

John Galt 1779-1839

Commemorates the first superintendent of the Canada Company and founder of the town of Guelph. (Royal City Park, Guelph).

Dundurn Castle 1832

Commemorates Sir Allan Napier MacNab (1792-1862) soldier, politician and supporter of the Family Compact who constructed this imposing mansion. (Dundurn Park, Hamilton).

Sir John Harvey 1778-1852

Commemorates the soldier and administrator who led the British forces to victory at the Battle of Stoney Creek. (Hamilton).

The Lake Light

Commemorates the Gibraltar Point Lighthouse, the oldest remaining structure of its kind in Ontario. (Toronto Island, Toronto).

Osgoode Hall

One of the finest public buildings of its period in Canada. It was erected 1829-32 to house the Law Society of Upper Canada. (Toronto).

Canada's First Air Mail Flight 1918

Capt. Brian Peck's flight from Montreal to Leaside in an Air Force "Jenny" on June 24, 1918 inaugurated domestic air mail delivery in Canada. (Eglinton Avenue East, Leaside).

The Bishop's Palace 1818

Commemorates the site of the residence of Bishop John Strachan and the place of assembly of the Loyalist forces which defeated Mackenzie at Montgomery's Tavern in 1837. (Corner of Front Street and University Avenue, Toronto).

Quaker Meeting House 1810

This was the earliest church erected in the region north of Toronto and still exists on its original site. (West side of Yonge Street near Newmarket).

The De Puisaye Settlement

Describes the attempt of a group of French Royalists to form a settlement along Yonge Street. (Grounds of St. John's Anglican Church, Markham Township).

In order to keep our list of affiliated societies and museums up to date it is requested that notification be sent as soon as possible of changes in officers and addresses.

News of local historical activities is much appreciated and will be published as far as space permits.

BOOK NOTES

Spring, Summer, Autumn 1958

Bishop, Olga. "Checklist of Historical Works on Western Ontario in the Libraries of the University of Western Ontario" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (1), December 1957, 24-30; XIV (2), March 1958, 30-37; XIV (3), June 1958, 42-47; XIV (4), September 1958, 31-39). Deals with Norfolk, Wellington, Huron, Bruce and Grey Counties. Brief introductory sketches describe the evolution of the county boundaries and relate the beginnings of local historical societies.

Bourinot, Arthur S., editor. *At the Mermaid Inn* (Ottawa: the author, 158 Carleton Road, Rockcliffe. 1958. Pp. 96. $3.50). The title is derived from a weekly column contributed by Duncan Campbell Scott, Archibald Lampman and W. Wilfred Campbell to the Toronto *Globe* during 1892 and 1893, and selections from which make up the bulk of the present work. Each poet furnished one month's columns in turn, and each was paid $3 per week. The arrangement was terminated partly because of religious controversies raised by Campbell's articles.

Bruce, Hon. Herbert A. *Varied Operations: An Autobiography* (Toronto: Longmans Green & Company. 1958. Pp. xiv, 366, illus. $6.00). The life story of the versatile surgeon, army physician and lieutenant-governor of Ontario, 1932-1937.

Canada. Mines and Technical Surveys, Department of. Geographical Branch. *Geographical Bulletin No. 10, 1957* (Ottawa: Queen's Printer. 1958. Pp. 90, illus. $1.00). Articles include "Manufacturing in Downtown Toronto" by Donald Kerr and Jacob Spelt; and "Human Geography of the Lower Albany River Basin, Northern Ontario" by W. G. Dean.

Canada. Public Archives of Canada. *Collections of the Norfolk Historical Society, Preliminary Inventory* (Ottawa: The Queen's Printer. 1958. Pp. 94. $1.00). A detailed list of the documents collected and cared for by the Norfolk Historical Society, described according to family, individual and institutional collections. The second volume in a series begun in 1954 with the publication of the records of the Brome County (Quebec) Historical Society.

"Canada's Oldest Railway Tunnel" (Canadian Railroad Historical Association, *News Report No. 91,* July-August 1958, 95-7). The 1,700-foot tunnel under the town of Brockville was built by British contractors John and David Booth for the Brockville and Ottawa Railway between 1854 and 1860.

Carrière, Gaston. *Jean-Marie Nédélec, o.m.i., 1834-1896* (Sudbury: La Société Historique du Nouvel-Ontario, Université de Sudbury. 1957. Documents Historiques, No. 34. Pp. 48, illus. $1.00). A sketch of the life and work of a missionary who came to Canada in 1863 and from 1869 devoted his labours to the Vicariat of Pontiac with Mattawa as the base from which he journeyed by canoe as far afield as Fort Albany on James Bay. After 1880 he also followed the path of the building transcontinental railway west to North Bay, working among the construction gangs and the settlers of the new railway towns.

Case, William. *A Circuit Rider on the River Thames; the Diary of William Case, 20 June- 26 August 1809.* Edited by John S. Moir (Western Ontario History Nuggets, No. 24. London: The Lawson Memorial Library. 1958. Pp. i, 22). The diary, the original of which is in the possession

of the Victoria College Library, deals with the journey of the noted pioneer Methodist missionary from Niagara to "the Detroit Country" and with his labours in Kent and Essex Counties.

Cunningham, Miss Isabelle. "Ennotville Library, 1847-1958" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (2), March 1958, 27-29). The library was organized in 1847 by pioneer farmers of Nichol township and was formed into a Farmers and Mechanics Institute with its own building housing 450 volumes in 1856.

Currie, Ada. "Origins of Belwood, Garafraxa Township" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (2), March 1958, 18-23). Though settlers moved into the Township after 1826 it was 1854 before a village of Skeenville—later Douglas, and finally Belwood—was founded.

Currie, Ada. "Outline of Wellington County Historical Research Society" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (2), March 1958, 15-17). The Society was organized in 1928 after two years of preliminary work by a committee of the Women's Institutes of Wellington District.

Curry, F. C. "Standing Sentinel" (*Ontario Hydro News,* XLV (9), September 1958, 26-7, 37). Chimney Island, site of Fort de Lévis which barred General Amherst's advance on Montreal until its destruction during the summer of 1760, has been almost completely inundated by the St. Lawrence Seaway and Power Project.

Davidson, Janet. "Chatham's First Presbyterian Church" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (3), June 1958, 29-36). The arrival of Scottish settlers to the locality was followed by the formation of a congregation by 1834. A "Free Kirk" congregation was also organized in 1848, the two merging in 1879.

Dawson, R. MacGregor. *William Lyon Mackenzie King, a Political Biography, 1874-1923* (Toronto: University of Toronto Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 521, illus. $7.50).

Dewdney, Selwyn. "The Quetico Pictographs" (*The Beaver,* Outfit 289, Summer 1958, 15-22). Descriptions and reproductions of the cliffside pictographs prepared by the writer during five field trips into the Quetico Park district in July-August 1957. See the report, this journal, Vol. L (1), Winter 1958, pages 44-45.

Drummond, W. M. "The Impact of the Post-War Industrial Expansion on Ontario's Agriculture" (*Canadian Journal of Economics and Political Science,* XXIV (1), February 1958, 84-92). The rapid industrialization of Ontario between 1946 and 1956 attracted labour away from agriculture and led to higher farm wages, a greater use of labour-saving machinery, the turning to activities requiring less labour, the abandonment of marginal farmland and the consolidation of farms through greater capital investment. On the other hand, urbanization encouraged the growing of perishable foodstuffs, the subdivision of conveniently-situated farms into truck-garden farms, and led to a greater effort being given to processing and packaging foodstuffs for the consuming public of the cities.

Frohman, Charles E. "Piracy on Lake Erie" (*Inland Seas,* XIV (3), Fall 1958, 172-180). In September 1864 a number of Confederates who had boarded the *Philo Parsons* at Windsor seized the vessel in a plot to release 3,000 Confederate prisoners of war on Johnson's Island. The attempt, directed by Jake Thompson "head of the Confederate Government in Canada", failed, but the pirates escaped to Canada, from whence some were afterwards extradited to the United States.

Gillies, D. A. "Canot du Maitre or Montreal Canoe" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LVI (3), March 1958, 114-119). A detailed account of the building of a modern-day replica of the great canoes of the Montreal fur trade. The canoe was built between 1955 and 1957 by an octogenarian Indian, Matt Bernard of Golden Lake near Algonquin Park, using authentic materials and following traditional modes of construction.

Gilpin, Alec R. *The War of 1812 in the Old Northwest* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, and East Lansing: Michigan State University Press. 1958. Pp. vii, 286, map. $6.95). The American campaigns of the War of 1812 as fought on both sides of the Great Lakes.

Grant, Rev. A. M. "Early Religious Life and Church Organization in the Huron Tract", Part I (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (4), September 1958, 1-22). The histories of congregations formed in Goderich in 1832 and 1834 by Methodist, Presbyterian and Anglican missionaries, and at Holmesville, Bayfield and Exeter in subsequent years.

Grimsby Historical Society. *Annals of the Forty, Number 9: Loyalist and Pioneer Families of West Lincoln, 1783-1833.* Compiled by R. Janet Powell. (Grimsby: The Society. 1958. Pp. 98, illus.). Contains records of the following families: Tallman, Tapley, Taylor, Teeter, Teetzel, Ten Broeck, Ten Eyck, Terryberry, Theal, Thomas, Tinlin, Travis, Trembley, Triller, Tufford, Turney, Tweedle, Udell, Underhill, Upper, Urquhart, Utter, Van Buskirk, Van Dusen, Van Dyke, Van Etten-Vanatta, Van Loon, Van Sickle, Van Wagner, Vaughn, Waddell, Walker, Wardell, Wedge, White, Wiers, Willcocks, Willson, Winegarner, Wismer, Woolverton, Wrong, Wyckoff, Yaegar, Young, Zimmerman, and addenda. The booklet concludes a survey of 228 families and six years of research.

Gundy, H. P. "From Stone Cutter to Prime Minister" (*Douglas Library Notes,* VII (1), April 1958, 1-4). A sketch of Alexander Mackenzie, Canada's second Prime Minister, insights into whose character are revealed in a large collection of papers in the Douglas Library, the generous gift of Mrs. R. F. Thompson, widow of the Prime Minister's grandson.

Hamilton, Mary G. *The Call of Algonquin* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 188, illus. $4.00). Experiences of the author, who while principal of the Margaret Eaton School in Toronto organized a summer camp for young people, Camp Tanamakoon in Algonquin Park, and directed it till 1953.

Hamilton, Milton W. "Joseph Brant—The Most Painted Indian" (*New York History,* XXXIX (2), April 1958, 119-132). In 1776 at the age of 35 Brant visited England, met the diarist Boswell, and had his portrait painted by George Romney. Ten years later, when he was again in England on behalf of the Six Nations' claims, he was painted by Gilbert Stuart. In 1797 Charles Willson Peale painted his portrait in Philadelphia, while a final portrait was made by Ezra Ames at Albany in 1806.

Hammond, Mrs. A. "Names in Wellington County" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (2), March 1958, 24-6). Based on a paper read at the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Guelph in 1957.

Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society. *Wentworth Bygones, from the Papers and Records of the Head-of-the-Lake Historical Society, Vol. I* (Hamilton: The Society, Miss K. L. McCullough, Corresponding- Secretary, 90 Duke Street. 1958. Pp. 36, illus. $1.00). A collection of the following papers: Preface (a history of the Society) by George Laidler;

"Clothes and History" by Dr. C. W. Jefferys (1946); "Family Records and Family Histories" by W. H. Carroll (1944); "The Story of the Land Family" by George Laidler (1947); "Jean Baptiste Rousseau, 1758-1812" by T. Roy Woodhouse (1948); "Crown Patentees of Barton" by Mabel Burkholder and T. Roy Woodhouse.

Heard, C. W. Kenneth. "Canada's Longest Railway Bridge" (Canadian Railroad Historical Association, *News Report No. 94,* November 1958, 127-132). A 2.6 mile-long bridge of the Cobourg and Peterborough Railway over Rice Lake was built by Samuel Zimmerman during the summer of 1853 at an estimated cost of $175,000. It was frequently disrupted by ice and was no longer usable by 1860.

Hepburn, Agnes M. "Early Visitors and Explorers to Port Stanley" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (4), September 1958, 23-30). Refers to Joliet (1669), La Salle, Dollier and Galinee (1670), Sir William Johnson (1761), Colonel Thomas Talbot (1801) and Colonel John Bostwick (1804).

Hewitt, William Arthur. *Down the Stretch* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. 239. $5.00). Reminiscences of a pioneer Toronto newspaperman, organizer, director and manager of numerous Canadian athletic activities, and founder of a dynasty of sportscasters.

Heyl, Erik. "The General Porter" (*Niagara Frontier,* V (2), Summer 1958, 49-53). The *General Porter* was a steamboat built at Buffalo in 1833 which came under the ownership of the Canadian government from 1838 to 1843 when as the *Toronto* it patrolled Lake Ontario against border raiders. Afterwards it resumed commercial operations between Buffalo and Detroit under its original name.

Hood, Dora. *The Side Door: Twenty-six Years in My Book Room* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. ix, 238, illus. $4.95). Experiences between 1928 and 1954 of the owner and director of Dora Hood's Book Room, specializing in Canadiana.

Hutt, M. G. "Abbé P.J.L. Desjardins and the Scheme for the Settlement of French Priests in Canada, 1792-1802" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XXXIX (2), June 1958, 93-124). In 1793 the Abbé visited Upper Canada and for a time won the favour of Lieutenant-Governor Simcoe, but fears of revolutionary activity by priests, competition of Vicomte de Vaux and the Comte de Puisaye for land grants, and the unwillingness of the priests to emigrate to Canada, made the project a vain hope.

Jackman, Sydney W. *Galloping Head* (London, England: Phoenix House. 1958. Pp. 191, illus.). A biography of Upper Canadian Lieutenant-Governor, Sir Francis Bond Head, Baronet, whose career in Canada occupies Chapters V, VI and VII.

Jackson, A. Y. "The Memories of a Great Canadian Painter" (*Maclean's,* LXXI (21), October 11, 1958, 18-19, 77-84). Reminiscences of the Group of Seven and of painting in Canada between 1913 and 1924.

Johnson, Sir William. *The Papers of Sir William Johnson, Volume XII.* Edited by Milton W. Hamilton. (Albany: The University of the State of New York. 1957. Pp. viii, 1124, illus. $8.00). This volume is concerned with Indian affairs and land development in the years 1766 to 1774 and also presents papers and letters to supplement those published in earlier volumes.

Johnston, Charles M. *The Head of the Lake* (Hamilton: Wentworth County Council. 1958. Pp. 345, illus. $3.50). A thorough, scholarly

history of the Hamilton district from the Indian carrying place to the "Birmingham of Canada".

Jones, F. L. "The Long Woods" (*Canadian Army Journal,* XII (2), April 1958, 64-76). The story of Captain James Basden of the 89th Regiment, who fought in the Niagara campaign of 1813 and was wounded in a frontal attack upon an American raiding party in a prepared position at the Twenty Mile Creek in the Long Woods northeast of Moraviantown on March 4, 1814. After serving in India and Burma he retired with the rank of lieutenant-colonel in 1843.

Jones, F. L. "A Surgeon on the Frontier" (*Canadian Army Journal,* XII (3), July 1958, 125-30, 156). In 1813 the young Dr. William Dunlop was appointed assistant surgeon to the 89th Regiment of Foot and sailed for Canada, where he served at Cornwall, Niagara, Fort Erie, Queenston and York.

Klinck, Carl F. "Western Ontario 150 Years Ago: John Galt's Statistical Account of Upper Canada (1807)" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (3), June 1958, 1-25). Galt's account was based on information supplied by Captain William Gilkison, a kinsman who had lived and travelled in southwestern Upper Canada since 1796.

Klinck, Carl F., editor. *William "Tiger" Dunlop* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xii, 185, illus. $5.00). A collection of writings about and by the many-sided pioneer settler who first came to Canada during the War of 1812, went to India as a physician, practiced medicine in Edinburgh and wrote for *Blackwood's* and other British papers, returned to Canada in connection with the Canada Company in 1826, fought in the Rebellion of 1837, was elected to the Parliament of united Canada in 1841, and died at Lachine in 1848.

Lee, Thomas E. "The Parker Earthwork, Corunna, Ontario" (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* XXVIII (1), April 1958). A detailed report of the writer's findings at the Corunna site in the course of a preliminary survey of 1950 and a fuller investigation during 1956. See "New Light on Iroquois Origins", this journal, Vol. XLVIII, 1956, pages 185-7.

Leuchtenberg, William E. "The Niagara Compromise" (*Current History,* XXXIV (201), May 1958, 270-274). Debate in the American Congress over whether additional power from the Niagara River allowed under a treaty of 1950 with Canada should be exploited by federal, state or private enterprise held up construction of the United States's plant for seven years. In 1957 a compromise was reached in the Senate which allowed the New York State Power Authority to build and operate the plant, completion of which is expected in 1961.

Lower, A. R. M. *Canadians in the Making: A Social History of Canada* (Toronto: Longmans, Green. 1958. Pp. xxiv, 475, illus. $7.50). A penetrating study of the ways in which the Canadian environment has affected three centuries of inhabitants from Champlain to post-World War II men and women.

McDowell, Louise. *Past and Present: A Canadian Musician's Reminiscences* (Kirkland Lake: The Author. 1958. Pp. xvii, 211. $2.50). Reminiscences of a long, active career given to the study of music in Toronto (where the author graduated from the Conservatory of Music in 1892) and at Leipzig, and as a music teacher in Winnipeg from 1898 to 1937 and finally, since 1950, in Kirkland Lake.

McLelland, Joseph C. "The Macdonnell Heresy Trial" (*Canadian Journal of Theology,* IV (4), October 1958, 273-284). A sermon on Universalism, delivered by Rev. D. J. Macdonnell at St. Andrew's Presbyterian Church,

Toronto and published in September 1875, led to an inquiry into the minister's religious views by the Presbytery of Toronto and by the General Assembly of the Church in 1877. Having satisfied the General Assembly of 1878 concerning his orthodoxy, Rev. Macdonnell was reinstated in St. Andrew's, moving to Fergus in 1895 where he died in the following year.

MacMillan, Somerled. *The Emigration of Lochaber MacMillans* (Paisley, Scotland: The author, 7 High Calside. 1958. Pp. iv, 15 illus.). Under threat of ever-increasing rents and evictions, two cousins, Archibald and Allan MacMillan, organized an emigration of "over 100 MacMillans, 75 MacDonnells, 48 Kennedies, 28 Camerons, 16 Grants, 13 MacPhees, 5 Corbetts, and 5 MacDougalls" to Canada in 1803. Many of the members of the group received land and settled in Glengarry and Stormont counties, Upper Canada, and at Grenville, Lower Canada.

Marks, Kitty, with Frank Croft. "My Life with the Original Marks Brothers" (*Maclean's,* LXXI (13), June 21, 1958, 16-17, 58-62). Ontario's famous theatrical family of the era 1870-1920, as told by a surviving member of the company now residing in Oshawa.

Metcalf, Clarence S. "Daniel Dobbins, Sailing Master, U.S.N., Commodore Perry's Right Hand Man" (*Inland Seas,* XIV (2), Summer 1958, 88-96; XIV (3), Fall 1958, 181-190). At the beginning of the War of 1812 Dobbins was captured by the British twice—at Mackinac Island and at Detroit—but escaped and proceeded to Washington where he persuaded the American government to build a fleet and win control of Lake Erie. Placed in charge of construction at Presqu'ile, he built two gunboats, two brigs and a pilot boat, his fleet being ready by July 1813. With these ships, and five smaller vessels outfitted at Black Rock (Buffalo) Commodore Perry won the Battle of Lake Erie on September 10, 1813.

Morley, E. Lillian. "An Index to *The Milverton Sun*" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (3), June 1958, 36-42). A list of historical articles appearing in this weekly between January 5, 1950 and December 27, 1956.

Ontario. Planning and Development, Department of. *Napanee Valley Conservation Report, 1958, Summary* (Toronto: Queen's Printer. 1958. Pp. 104, illus. and maps). A summary of the larger report of 1957 which had a limited distribution. The historical summary (pages 8-24) deals with the history of the Napanee watershed from Champlain's exploration in 1615 to modern times.

Ontario Archaeological Society. *Publication Number 4.* Edited by Dr. C. H. D. Clarke (Toronto: The Society, c/o William Donaldson, 111 Riverside Drive North, Oshawa. 1958. Pp. 42, illus. $1.50). The three articles —"The Boyd Site" by Paul W. Sweetman; "The Squire Site, Consecon" by Rev. B. P. Squire; and "The Boys and Barrie Sites" by Frank Ridley (with an Appendix by Thomas E. Lee)—represent the Society's "first step towards putting on record the results of original work in the archaeology of Ontario."

Phelps, Edward. *A History of Blackwell United Church and Blackwell Community* (Sarnia: Blackwell United Church. 1958. Obtainable from Miss Abigail Wheatley, R.R. 3, Sarnia. Pp. 54, illus. $1.50). Blackwell is an unincorporated farming and residential community in Sarnia township, and the church was the successor to a congregation of the Primitive Methodist Church of Canada formed around 1876.

Phelps, Edward. "The Religious Experience of a Young Lay Preacher on the Sarnia Wesleyan Methodist Circuit" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes,* XIV (3), June 1958, 16-29). Thomas Wheatley (1841-1925), a native of Froomefield who settled at Blackwell in 1871 and a lifelong local Methodist preacher, was first licensed in 1859 and on January 1, 1860 decided to keep a "diary of religious experience" which is reprinted here.

Preston, Richard A. and Lamontagne, Leopold, editors. *Royal Fort Frontenac* (Toronto: The Champlain Society, for the Province of Ontario. 1958. Pp. xxx, 503, illus. and maps, $5.00. Members of the Society may secure copies of this volume by ordering from the Secretary-Treasurer, $3.50 to members). A history of Fort Frontenac from the founding of a mission near the mouth of Lake Ontario in 1668 to the final days of the French regime. The accompanying documents are offered both in French and in English translation.

Pursley, Louis H. *Street Railways of Toronto 1861-1921* (Willowdale, Ontario: The author, 149 Elmwood Avenue. 1958. Pp. 155, illus. $3.00). An outline of public transportation in and about Toronto from the stage lines to the acquiring of the Toronto Railway Company's franchise by the Toronto Transportation Commission in 1921. Electric cars were introduced in 1892 and the last horse-drawn car ceased operations in 1894, while the last of the pre-1921 streetcars continued in use until 1951. The illustrations include 275 photographs, 14 streetcar plans and 2 maps.

Rasky, Frank. *Gay Canadian Rogues* (Toronto: Thomas Nelson & Sons. 1958. Pp. 190, illus. $3.00). Tales of swindlers who were born or carried on their activities in Canada. Stories with an Ontario locale include those of Norman "Red" Ryan and the Gouzenko affair.

Richards, J. Howard. "Population and the Economic Base in Northern Hastings County, Ontario" (*The Canadian Geographer,* Number 11 (1958), 23-33). In 1901 North Hastings' population totalled 17,100, the result of mining and lumbering activities since 1820 and of farm settlement induced by colonization roads and railway construction. Declines in agriculture and forestry caused the rural population to decrease for the ensuing forty years, but recent mining developments are once more attracting settlement into the region.

Ridley, Frank. "Sites on Ghost River, Lake Abitibi" (*Pennsylvania Archaeologist,* XXVIII (1), April 1958). History and description of the Lake Abitibi area and of the writer's findings at three sites near the mouth of Ghost River in Lake Abitibi in 1954. See also his article "An Archaeological Reconnaissance of Lake Abitibi, Ontario" in this journal, volume XLVIII, winter 1956, pages 18-23.

Rose, Albert. *Regent Park, a Study in Slum Clearance* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1958. Pp. xiii, 242, illus. $5.50). A study in all its aspects of the celebrated project in low-rental public housing and slum clearance launched in east-central Toronto during 1947.

Rosewarne, Winnifred and Robert. *The Family History of Henry Grindell and His Descendants 1832-1956* (Ottawa: The authors, 475 Broadview Avenue. 1957. Pp. viii, 65, illus.). Henry Grindell emigrated from Ireland at the age of 68 and settled in Eramosa township, Waterloo country, in 1832 on land purchased from the Canada Company.

Sanders, Byrne Hope. *Famous Women* (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin. 1958. Pp. 145, illus.). Includes a sketch of the life of Augusta Stowe Gullen, the first woman graduate of a Canadian medical college (Victoria College,

Cobourg, 1883), a founder of the Women's College Hospital, Toronto (1909), and a lifelong fighter for women's rights.

Selkirk, Thomas Douglas, Fifth Earl. *Lord Selkirk's Diary 1803-1804, A Journal of his Travels in British North America and the Northeastern United States.* Edited and with an Introduction by Patrick C. T. White. (Toronto: The Champlain Society. 1958. Pp. xxxii, 359, illus. and maps. To subscriber members only.). Selkirk's tour was undertaken in connection with his project of organizing colonies on Prince Edward Island and in Upper Canada and its outcome was the establishment of an ill-fated settlement at Baldoon. Diary IV (pages 233-354) is the account of his journey from Montreal via Vermont and New York to Upper Canada (February 21-June 4, 1804).

Sider, F. E. "Profit and Conflict, Early Lumbering on Lake of the Woods" (*Sylva,* XIV (5), September-October 1958, 4-12). In 1880 John Mather of Ottawa established the first sawmill in the Kenora area at the site of the present town of Keewatin, inaugurating an industry which lasted till 1933.

Smith, Waldo E. L. *Albert College, 1857-1957* (Belleville: Ontario Intelligencer Limited. 1957. Pp. iv, 56, illus. $1.50). The Methodist Episcopal Church (which had separated from the Wesleyan Methodist Church after 1833 over the latter's willingness to accept state aid) decided in 1852 to establish a "seminary of learning" and in 1857 Belleville Seminary—now Albert College—began its work.

Snider, C. H. J. *Tarry Breeks and Velvet Garters; First Book of Schooner Days* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xvii, 148, illus. $4.50). The story of sailing ships on the Great Lakes down to the fall of New France, with a review chapter describing the rigs and roster of forty French vessels—with an Introduction by Senator Arthur Roebuck.

Spendlove, F. St. George. *The Face of Early Canada* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press. 1958. Pp. xxi, 162, with 128 illustrations. $8.50, or de luxe edition, $14.00). The pictorial achievement of residents, visitors and students of the British North American colonies before 1867, described and discussed by the author. Many of the views, buildings and historical scenes are of Ontario interest, and all have been selected from the Canadiana Collections of the Royal Ontario Museum, of which Mr. Spendlove is curator.

Stacey, Charles P. "Another Look at the Battle of Lake Erie" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XXXIX (1), March 1958, 41-51). A major advantage for the Americans in the contest to win control of Lake Erie during the War of 1812 was their ability to procure guns, shot, anchor and cables from the near-at-hand "lusty infant industries of Pittsburgh" while British armament and equipment had to be imported all the way from Britain.

Stong, Daniel Alexander. *The Stong Genealogy of Canada and United States 1800-1957* (Weston, Ontario: The author, 266 Queen's Drive. 1958. Pp. 79, illus. $2.00). The descendants of Sylvester Stong, an American of Palatine-German extraction, who came to Upper Canada and settled in Vaughan township in 1800.

The Stratford Festival, 1953-1957. (Toronto: Clarke, Irwin and Company. 1958. Unpaged, illustrated. $3.50). A photographic record of the first five seasons, with an Introduction by Herbert Whittaker and Foreward by the Rt. Hon. Vincent Massey.

United Church of Canada. Committee on Archives. *The Bulletin, No. 10* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House. 1957. Pp. 44). Includes:

"Sources for Protestant Church History in the Ontario Archives" by G. W. Spragge; "Sources for the Study of Presbyterianism in Canada" by George Boyle; "A Glimpse at the Indian Missions of One Hundred Years Ago" by Margaret Ray; and "The Caleb Burdick Minute Book" by George Boyle.

United Church of Canada. Committee on Archives. *The Bulletin, No. 11* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House. 1958. Pp. 48). Contains "Watts' Catechism in the Cree Syllabic Printed at Moose Factory, 1855" by Lorne Pierce, and "Printing in Syllabics at Moose" by Norah Story; and "Archives of the Church of England Missionary Societies in the Public Archives of Canada" by S. Kula.

United Church of Canada, Toronto. *Seventy Years at Bloor Street United Church, Toronto, 1887-1957* (Toronto: The United Church Publishing House. 1957. Pp. iv, 55). Since 1887, when the church was built on the northwestern limits of a growing Toronto, it has been served through many changes by three ministers—Dr. W. G. Wallace (to 1918), Dr. G. C. Pidgeon (to 1948) and Dr. E. M. Howse (since 1948).

Van Steen, Marcus. "Brantford's Royal Chapel" (*Canadian Geographical Journal,* LVII (4), October 1958, 136-41). Queen Anne's Royal Chapel of the Mohawks, built in 1712 on the Mohawk River and rebuilt 75 years later on the Grand River, contains many priceless treasures from the original chapel as well as other memorials from the colourful history of the Mohawks.

Warner, Harold Willard. *The Centenary of St. James's Lodge No. 74, A.F. & A.M., South Augusta, Ontario, 1857-1957* (Ottawa: The author, Norfolk Hall, R.R. 2, Brockville. 1957. Pp. 82, illus. $1.50).

Waterloo Historical Society. *Forty-Fifth Annual Volume of the Waterloo Historical Society* (Kitchener: The Society. 1958. Pp. 72, illus.). News and reports of the Society during 1957. Historical sketches include: "The Jacob Bernhardt Family History" by Clara W. Atkinson; "Fisher Mills" by Mrs. O. A. Snyder; "The Doon Public School" by Mrs. George Ayres; and "Waterloo 1857-1957" by F. W. R. Dickson.

Williams, W. R. "The New England Transportation Company" (*Inland Seas,* XIV (1), Spring 1958, 50-55). Stories of a number of Canadian-built and owned steamships which were formed into a co-operative organization during the 1870's and 1880's to operate between Collingwood and Chicago.

Winks, Robin W. "The Creation of a Myth: Canadian Enlistments in the Northern Armies during the American Civil War" (*Canadian Historical Review,* XXXIX (1), March 1958, 24-40).

Wright, A. W. "Pioneer Journalism in the County of Wellington" (*Western Ontario Historical Notes*, XIV (2), March 1958, 5-11). Extracted from a paper read before the annual meeting of the Ontario Historical Society at Guelph in 1933. The short-lived Guelph *Herald* of 1842 was Wellington County's first newspaper.

York Pioneer and Historical Society. *The York Pioneer* (Toronto: The Society, Miss Marion Keffer, 3297 Yonge Street. 1958. Pp. 24, illus.). Includes articles on "Music in Sharon" by Jean McFall; "James E. Kavanagh, 1871-1957", an obituary; "Restoring House of Ebenezer Doan, Master Builder of the Temple", The Society's Constitution, reports and lists of officers and members.

Young, C. R. *Early Engineering Education at Toronto, 1851-1919* (Toronto: The University of Toronto Press. 1958. vii, 152, illus. $3.95). Following a recommendation by a Commission of Visitation a chair

of Civil Engineering was established at the University of Toronto in 1851. Its success was limited and during the 1870's there was great controversy between the advocates of a School of Technology apart from the University and those who supported the foundation of a School of Practical Science within the University. The latter solution prevailed and since 1878 the University has included a professional school of engineering. Professor John Galbraith, principal of the School of Practical Science after 1889, became Dean of the Faculty of Applied Science and Engineering in 1906.

REPORT OF THE MUSEUMS SECTION WORKSHOP, OCTOBER 3, 4, 5, 1958

By Mrs. Gwen Metcalfe

Increased registration at the sixth annual Workshop of the Museums Section in Brantford demonstrated how highly these sessions are regarded and the growing interest in matters historical, not only in Ontario, but also beyond our borders. Mr. and Mrs. R. H. Ford, representing La Société d'Histoire Regionale of Lachine, Quebec, and Miss Barbara Johnstone of the Hudson's Bay Company's Historical Exhibit, Winnipeg, were among those in attendance.

On Friday, October 3, the Workshop was welcomed to Brantford by Rev. W. J. Zimmerman, M.A., B.D., president of the Brant Historical Society. S. E. Wyatt, Q.C., and T. Leslie Morris also led discussions on "The Museum as Property" and "Insurance", after which a panel comprising Edwin C. Guillet, Marcus Van Steen and William A. Stewart discussed "The Museum and Literature", the value writers might derive from a museum's illustrative materials and area records.

At the evening session Professor T. F. McIlwraith, the Department of Anthropology, University of Toronto, addressed the Workshop on the subject of "The Indian and the Museum". He felt that the Canadian Indians have the first claim on our studies and urged that every museum display Indian objects in such a way as to increase general knowledge of Canadian history, and give leadership in studying their culture. Pictures of early Ontario homes were shown by John Martin, whose address on "Houses" expressed the opinion that one learns the history of a country quickest by looking at its houses.

Andrew W. Taylor presided over the business meeting which began early on Saturday morning. Greetings were brought from the Ontario Historical Society by President John M. Gray. Miss Ruth Home presented the following report of the Nominating Committee: Past Chairman, Mr. Andrew W. Taylor; Chairman, Dr. J. F. Morton; First Vice-Chairman, Miss Kaye McFarland; Second Vice-Chairman, Col. J. A. McGinnis; Corresponding Secretary, Mrs. Penelope Dunbar; Recording Secretary, Miss Marion Keffer; Treasurer, Mr. Leslie Gray; Convenor of the 1959 Workshop at Cornwall, Miss Mary Mack.

The session continued with "The Value of Good Display" by Mr. Earl Fahl of the Ontario College of Agriculture's Department of Public Relations. Mr. Fahl pointed out that an authentic old-time kitchen in its normal setting will create attention as well as tell a good story impressively. Signs should tell what individual items were for, when and how they were used, and who used them. The "who" should be important

enough for honourable mention. "History in Two Dimensions", illustrated by maps, drawings, surveyors' diaries and registrars' records, was a fascinating subject for Mrs. Julia Boyer Reinstein, town historian of Cheektowaga, New York, who said that there were as many ways to present local history as there were people and showed how maps and other documents could be used in preserving local history.

At the afternoon meeting Mr. George L. Long of Montreal, historian of the Bell Telephone Company of Canada, told of his company's "everybody searching" and "history in the making" projects which have been the main factor in building up the world's largets telephone collection. "We should encourage and stimulate throughout our communities a greater respect, and even a bit of reverence, for our forefathers and their achievements from which we benefit", he said. "Chiefswood, Birthplace of E. Pauline Johnson, as a National Historic Site and Cultural Centre" was the subject of Mr. W. Richard Pilant's address. He expressed the hope that the Dominion Government would soon see fit to make Chiefswood a national monument and Canada's first national Indian cultural centre. Mr. James Gooding, Highland Creek, and Mr. Robert J. Oakley, Brantford, displayed and discussed "The Guns in Your Museum".

The banquet at the Hotel Kerby was attended by 99 people. Mr. Kingsley Brown, feature writer for the Hamilton Spectator, was the guest speaker on the subject "Today, With Some of the Yesterdays". Mr. Brown skilfully pictured the frantic excitement of the news of the day and pointed out that we are too close to see events as they really are or to assess their significance. Things take a long time to work out for there are no shortcuts to history.

During the Workshop trips were arranged to the Brant Historical Museum and to the Bell Homestead, and the meetings concluded Sunday with a visit to St. Paul's, Her Majesty's Chapel of the Mohawks, where, preceding the service of worship, Rev. Canon W. J. Zimmerman told of the founding of the chapel in 1785 by King George III for his loyal subjects, the Six Nations Indians.

Sincere thanks are expressed to Mr. Walter Rutherford, convenor of the Workshop, and his committee, and to Misses C. B. Good and S. I. Shields of the Brant Historical Society for their untiring efforts in making the Brantford Workshop another to be remembered.

A SUGGESTION

The Ontario Historical Society can put to good use funds for general expenses, for publication purposes, and for museum development.

You are urged to include the Society as a beneficiary when preparing your will. The following form is suggested:

I give, devise, and bequeath to the Ontario Historical Society the sum of ....., which shall be held by the Society as an endowment, the income from said endowment to be used for such of the Society's purposes as its Executive Committee in its discretion may determine.

The President or the Secretary-Treasurer of the Society will be happy to discuss this matter with interested persons.

ONTARIO HISTORY

PAPERS & RECORDS

VOLUME L

1958

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THE ONTARIO HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Ontario Historical Society was organized on September 4, 1888 under the title of 'The Pioneer and Historical Association of the Province of Ontario' and adopted its present name in 1898. Its object is to develop the study of history, particularly that of Ontario.

Beginning in 1899 a volume of *Papers & Records* has been published nearly every year. These volumes, I to XXXIX, contain a vast amount of information about the history of the Province. Several volumes now are out of print, but the rest are available at $4 per cloth-bound volume and $2 for those with paper covers. In 1947 the name of the publication was changed to *Ontario History* and since the beginning of 1949 it has appeared in quarterly form. *Ontario History* is sent free to all members, and issues of previous years are available at $1 per number or $3 per volume of four issues. In addition ten special volumes of documentary material have been published, the details and prices of which may be obtained by writing the Secretary-Treasurer.

General meetings of the Society have been held annually in various centres in the province. These meetings have enabled members to meet with others who are particularly interested in local and provincial history, and to visit many of the historic spots in Ontario.

The several classes of membership are: corporate, $3 a year, sustaining $10 a year, family $5, and annual, $3. Life memberships are $50. Membership is open to all societies and individuals interested in the history of Ontario. Fees should be sent to the Secretary-Treasurer, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5.

The Executive Committee is: President, Mr. John M. Gray; First Vice-President, Professor J. M. S. Careless; Second Vice-President, Dr. George W. Spragge; Secretary-Treasurer, Miss Edna Ash, 27 Surrey Place, Toronto 5; Immediate Past-President, Miss Lillian R. Benson; Additional Members, Dr. R. A. Preston, Mr. Andrew Taylor, Dr. A. S. Hardy Hill, Miss Mabel Stewart, Miss Mary Farmer, Mr. A. D. McFall, Dr. J. F. Morton and Dr. M. Zaslow (Editor, *Ontario History*).

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